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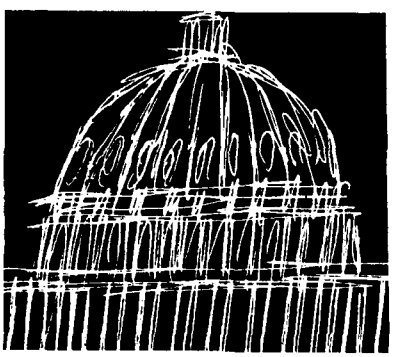
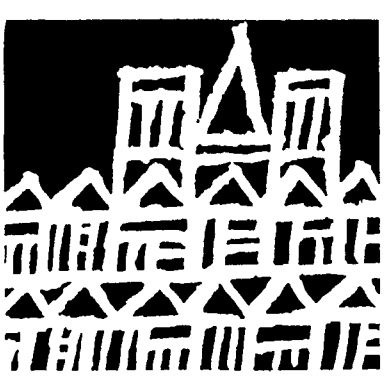


PEACE POLITICS AND 1968

LIBERALS IN WONDERLAND



BLOW-UP AT CATHOLIC U.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

It is the sort of magnanimity that the American Government should be anxious to display, but which, with its intense self-righteousness, it would never contemplate. We speak of citation rather than penalties for the Quaker crew that sailed the ketch Phoenix into Haiphong Harbor with $10,000 worth of medical supplies to be distributed in North Vietnamese villages whose people are suffering hurt from American bombs.

Admittedly it is unrealistic to hope that actions such as that of the Phoenix crew be honored instead of punished. But if the United States were just half so idealistic as it professes, and just half so solicitous about the victims of its fragmentation bombs as it pretends, then the idea would be not at all preposterous.

The medical aid that reaches North Vietnam through American Quakers is not substantial when measured against the emergency for which the U.S. is responsible. The aid, in fact, is hardly more than a gesture, a small effort to be human, to practice Christian charity, to give meaning to the Scripture passages that bless the peacemaker. Washington should be happy to encourage such initiative; it has nothing to lose and the respect of decent people everywhere to gain.

Ah, but Washington operates by a different code, one so petty as to begrudge even medical supplies to those it deems a risk to American interpretations of peace and security. Washington defends its policy as practical and necessary. The rest of the world sees it, more realistically, as sadistic.

•

Springtime gossip from the ecclesiastica cocktail circuit:

Hottest story: A priest serving in Washington, D.C., contacted a friend in Chancery of home archdiocese saying he had fill of special assignment and would welcome pastorate; would friend keep eye open for good parish? Came back a telegram: "Herod still alive. Stay in Egypt."

Mildest rumor: Next fall's statement of the American bishops will discuss "the institutional Church," and will be drafted in an Eastern diocese on the Midwest line.

Coldest report ten minutes after event: the names of American delegates to the Synod of Bishops opening in Rome on Sept. 29 (Dearden, Krol, Wright and Shehan; McGucken and Cody, alternates).

•

Chapter title from S. J. Perelman's new book (*Chicken Inspector No. 23*): "Nobody Knows the Rubble I've Seen/Nobody Knows but Croesus." . . . Might concern Apostolic Visitor looking into the affairs of the Poor Sisters of St. Francis Seraph of Perpetual Adoration (wow!) of Mishawaka, Ind., benefactors of Ernest Medders and wife, of Sherman, Texas (naturally).

•

Speaking of the Medderses, the increasing frequency with which Religious Orders are being flinched by sharpsters suggests that the management of Religious Order assets demands a looking into. The "Poor" Sisters of St. Francis staked Medders, Mr. and Mrs., to $2-million. A year ago it was learned that the Salvatorian Order was clipped from $7-to-$17-million by an "investment counselor"; coincidentally or not, the Salvatorians are presently selling three seminary properties. Now we hear that a women's order out Milwaukee way is in difficulties of a kindred sort and is abandoning plans for a convent-dormitory adjacent to Marquette University and a suburban recreational estate, complete with tennis courts, swimming pool, etc.

Understand, we're not against comfort and recreation for those in religious life (we have extremely limited patience with buck-a-Sunday Catholics who raise holy ructions over pitch-and-putt golf courses on convent grounds and carpeted swimming pool dressing rooms at the motherhouse). But we do object (strenuously) to phony penury, to preachments on poverty, to Sisters' having to do without, and Brothers and priests having to settle for less, when there are large amounts of money on hand for superiors to gamble with manipulators.

We might add that we rate those with primary grievance to be, not the ones who provided the money for the Religious Orders (they could afford it), but the Religious who endure educational, intellectual and material privations in the name of holy sacrifice, while hairbrained Reverend Mothers or Very Reverend Fathers enter into unholy schemes of profane priority.

Matters would be much different if there were regular, public accountings. We so move.

•

Editorials we never finished reading:

"What is the Catholic position on the Vietnam war (or whatever the conflict is, if it's not a war)?

"Thank the good Lord, there is none. . . ." *Catholic Accent*
Greensburg, Pa., 4/13/67

•

Religious groups who withheld voting proxies from the management of Eastman Kodak at the firm's annual stockholders' meeting (April 25) included: the United Presbyterian Commission on Ecumencial Mission and Relations; units of the Reformed Church in America, the Methodist Board of Missions, New Brunswick Theological Seminary, the Episcopal Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, Inc., the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, and the United Church Press.

Point of dispute: Kodak's hiring policies. (An agreement negotiated by a Rochester civil rights group and signed by Kodak on the recruitment and training of Negro workers was repudiated by Kodak two days after the signing.)

If any Catholic groups or agencies registered proxy protests, they were not made public nine days before the meeting. Maybe Catholic money is in Ansco, Graflex, Leica, Polaroid and Bell & Howell.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Civilian Casualties

St. Paul, Minn.

To the Editors: "Of what use is freedom and democracy if one is not alive and healthy to enjoy it?" This must be the question on the lips of the people of Vietnam. Theirs is a problem of survival, of life itself.

The editorial (March 31), which describes the United States' refusal to allow medical supplies to be sent for the use of the civilian casualties of the war, shows to what depths a policy goes in order to protect itself against all opposition. . . .

Even if it were not an established fact that the United States is responsible for heavy civilian casualties in the war, the concern for the dignity of the people should dictate that we strive to relieve the suffering of any innocent victims of war, no matter where they are. . . .

What does this policy say to the Vietnam civilians whom we are suppose to be helping? Anger and hatred arise in the hearts of the people as they see their villages destroyed, their compatriots killed, their houses burned. The people see more American soldiers than they did French troops, which they wished to drive out. The relief they wish to hear of is any effort to end the war—yet they hear of a long, drawn-out affair. They hate the war; yet the war is escalated. And the more the war is escalated, the more they are the victims. And now the country which declares that it is there to protect them refuses to allow even private aid for the civilian casualties. What does the U.S. expect to gain by this policy?

(REV.) ROBERT HAZEL

Charitable Examples

Fremont, Ohio

To the Editors: Your lead editorial (April 14) on our secular society's ambivalent reaction to Paul's recent encyclical, "On the Development of Peoples," was most interesting. It is remarkably progressive.

It is easy for me to understand the

(Continued on page 215)

NEWS & VIEWS: 186 **CORRESPONDENCE: 187**
EDITORIALS: 187
BLOW UP AT CATHOLIC U.: *Norma Krause Herzfeld* **189**
MEANWHILE, BACK IN PHILADELPHIA: *Arlene Swidler* **191**
MRS. GOVERNOR FACES THE FEDS: *Harold Wolman* **192**
PILLS, COILS AND ABORTION: *William V. D'Antonio* **193**
PEACE POLITICS AND 1968: *Arthur I. Waskow* **195**
LIBERALS IN WONDERLAND: *Ruth Shereff* **198**
CHURCH MUSIC REVISITED: *Ralph Thibodeau* **204**
VERSE: *Frederic Will* **203**
THE SCREEN: *Philip T. Hartung* **207** ***THE STAGE:*** *R. J. Schroeder* **208**
BOOKS: 211

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THIS TIME, CATHOLIC U.

The Catholic University of America has done it again. To deter it, the University had the remembrance of things past—the furor created when it banned four distinguished theologians from its campus a few years ago—as well as the vision of things present—the plight of St. John's University in Brooklyn after many long months of faculty unrest and bad publicity. Nonetheless, the board of trustees decided to drop from the faculty Father Charles E. Curran, the widely respected moral theologian, although the newest freshman at Catholic U. could have told them the kind of trouble their decision would bring. The board consists of 33 cardinals, archbishops and bishops, plus 11 selected laymen; it is headed by Cardinal Spellman. Their conduct in this matter makes us wonder—and not for the first time, either—if a few of the American bishops might not be driven by some ecclesiastical version of a death wish. How else is one to explain their conduct?

Details on the Catholic U. affair appear elsewhere in these pages. What were the issues? Father Curran is a distinguished young moral theologian, in the minds of many the most promising America has yet produced. Regular readers will remember his contributions to our pages, and we are proud to count him as friend. None of this means, of course, that Father Curran is sacrosanct; he would be the first to scoff at such an idea. It does not mean that Father Curran is entitled to extraordinary treatment; it does mean, however, that he—or any other faculty member—is entitled to the minimally decent treatment expected in any university. Yet this is precisely what he did not receive. Father Curran was not judged by his peers and found wanting; on the contrary, he had been recommended for promotion by the theology faculty and the Academic Senate. Indeed, when it was first suggested that Father Curran might not be kept, the entire theology faculty unanimously expressed their "full confidence" in him. According to the dean of the school of theology, Father Walter Schmitz, quoted in the N.Y. *Times*, neither he nor any member of his faculty had been asked for an opinion on the orthodoxy of Father Curran's teaching. Furthermore, said Father Schmitz, "I have

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never heard a single complaint about the character of his teaching, his doctrinal integrity or his personal integrity."

Why, then, was the decision made by the trustees that Father Curran's contract not be renewed? The reason is clear. Father Curran is deeply committed to keeping the Church relevant to the modern world, and in his work he has faced up to and wrestled with the knotty problems of the here-and-now. His thinking is, in the best sense of the word, traditional, but on the subject of birth control, for example, he has come to agree with the majority of the Papal Commission who oppose the traditional position rather than with the minority who uphold it. No one doubts that it is for "crimes" like these that Father Curran was dismissed.

No wonder the Dean of the Theology School said his entire faculty was "shocked" and "amazed" at the decision and at the manner in which the action was taken—without a hearing for Father Curran to defend himself before his peers against any charges that might be made against him. No wonder that in the School of Sacred Theology professors immediately refused to teach and students to attend class, for as a statement by the Theology faculty explained, "The academic freedom and the security of every professor of this university is jeopardized. Under these circumstances, we cannot and will not function unless and until Father Curran is reinstated." No wonder the faculty as a whole echoed that statement and voted 400 to 18 to cease teaching.

With students and faculty on strike, it is hard to see how the bishops could have done anything but what they did—reverse themselves and reinstate Father Curran. An affair that began very badly has at least ended well, or as well as it could end under the circumstances.

But the trustees of Catholic U.—which means the bishops—have given the Church in this country another black eye, and it can at least be hoped that this time they and other Catholic educators will learn a lesson from their mistake.

A university should be, in Newman's words, "a light of the world." This certainly should not be less true of a Catholic university—on the contrary, given Catholic tradition over the centuries, the Catholic university should lead the way in this regard. In fact, though, we know that this is not so in the United States, and Catholic University of America is one of the worst offenders. Founded in high hopes as a national Catholic university and supported by all the Catholics in the United States, Catholic U. has often been a disappointment, despite the excellence of many of its faculty members. To a large extent, we are convinced, this is because Catholic U. has too often been run as if it were a seminary rather than a university—and not a very good seminary, at that.

Catholic U. may be a prime offender, but it is not alone. Why should this be so? In our view, this problem exists because our colleges and universities have too often been dominated by clericalism and ecclesiastical paternalism. There is no magic about the lay state, but it is simply a fact that in too many Catholic colleges and universities the public purpose of the institution has been subordinated to private or group purposes. The conduct of the trustees of Catholic U. in this matter was not made worse by the fact that most of them are bishops; we doubt, however, that the board would have dared to act in the high-handed way it did if most of the trustees had not been bishops.

This is the problem. A good university must be a center for independent thought. In Catholic tradition the theology department should serve as the integrating force for the entire university, and indeed as an example and beacon for those not in the university community. This can be the case only if the members of the theology faculty—and, indeed all teachers in the university—enjoy full academic freedom. Theology professors in particular cannot be viewed by bishops or superiors as simple agents of the teaching Church; the department of religious studies is not and should not be regarded as an extension of the Church's *magisterium*. Only if these facts are realized can the Catholic college or university perform its proper function, without the threat of constant harassment from ecclesiastical authority.

Father Curran had demonstrated his capacity for creative independent thought within the Catholic tradition. In the light of this, any refusal to renew his contract would have been scandalous; for this refusal to be carried out by intervention of the trustees rather than by the due process of his own peers was a disgrace. There are those who insist that "Catholic" and "university" are mutually exclusive terms; the bishops of Catholic U. acted as if they were determined to prove them right.

NEXT WEEK

In the Spring Book Issue, Wilfred Cartey discusses the development of modern African literature:

"It is the use of African imagery, capturing the local psychology through known symbols and images, which gives a literature its distinctive regional form and most clearly defines it as African or national literature. The use of imagery that is easily recognizable to an African mind gives new African writing a distinctive stamp."

Daniel Stern writes about *The Jews of Silence*, in which Elie Wiesel describes what he found inside the USSR:

"One undeniable fact, however, comes through with absolute clarity: in a Jewish population that has been denied the tools, techniques and freedoms of Jewish observance, there is a continuing, almost irrational insistence on remaining Jewish."

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STRIKE NO. 1

BLOW-UP AT CATHOLIC U.

Washington

Nothing could better demonstrate how much out of touch the Board of Trustees of Catholic University was with current feelings on the campus than its high-handed dismissal of Father Charles E. Curran, assistant professor of moral theology, from the faculty of the School of Sacred Theology there. In a grim reaction marking the end of an era, faculty and students joined to close down the university—until the trustees and the American hierarchy backed down and reinstated the young theologian with the somewhat liberal, anything but radical, views on Church authority which seem to have frighted conservative American bishops and, reportedly, the Apostolic Delegate.

The faculty had had enough of knuckling under after passing a resolution or two. The students knew clearly what was at stake. Led by the 360 seminarians and student priests in the School of Sacred Theology, undergraduate and graduate students throughout the university spearheaded the drive while theology faculty members urged the entire faculty to shut down over the issue of academic freedom from interference by an all-powerful board of trustees, mostly archbishops and some businessmen, who know little if anything about education.

When Father Curran, who had been questioned but not "accused" by CU officials about his views last fall, was personally fired by the Rector, Bishop William McDonald, who emphasized he was acting under mandate from the trustees, the theology faculty undoubtedly remembered the case of Father Edward F. Seigman, an associate scriptures professor, who was quietly dropped from the theology faculty in 1962 for "reasons of health." Asked if there had ever been an action like the Curran dismissal in recent history, Rev. Eugene Burke, C.S.P., professor of dogmatic theology, told reporters, "We never made it public." This time there would be no cover-up and no surrender.

Dr. Roland Nardone, Professor of Biology, stood in front of the rector's residence, where students began their demonstrations, and told them, "I hope this demonstration will not be necessary as an annual affair. I can go all the way back to 1954 when we were a rather conservative institution. In my class on human biology I cited the Kinsey Report to explain that one of the differences between races was the time of sexual maturation. The students were so interested I recommended that the whole class read Kinsey's chapter on methodology. One of the seminarians in my class felt he had to get a clearance to read it. Then I was called in by the vice rector and asked that this assignment be dropped. He was afraid that the students, especially the nuns, would go beyond that chapter and read more of the book.

"I went to my department head, who saw no way out. I called off my class temporarily in protest, but I don't think I could have mustered much student support then to support my right to give that assignment. We now have the sense of community and leadership necessary if we are going to be a great university. Your spirit demonstrates we're not going to be content with mediocrity. There is a very direct correlation between academic excellence and sound academic procedure—this is the heart of the issue."

The thousand or so lay and clerical students who began the march on the rector, asked for an interview with him. Distinctly surprised when they got it, their spokesman exclaimed, "This is indeed an unusual day in Washington, an unusual day for the Church in the United States!" While the rector was confronting two student leaders with his three vice rectors and his secretary in a fruitless discussion, the students stood outside in the harsh spring wind singing freedom songs and spirituals, often with lyrics written or ad-libbed for the occasion. "We Shall Overcome" provided a recurrent background, but lines of other songs included: "The Church Is Burning, Lord," "Building up CU, we shall not be moved," "Come, Cardinals and Bishops . . . for he that gets hurt will be he who has stalled. . . ." Most impressive was their mood of tense determination as they sang in obvious reference to Bishop McDonald and Father Curran, "What will it take to whip you into shape? A broken heart? A broken mind? It can be arranged."

Last fall the trustees reportedly made up a special committee with Archbishop John Krol of Philadelphia, Archbishop Hannan of New Orleans and Bishop McDonald to investigate Fr. Curran's orthodoxy. At the April 10 meeting of the board of trustees in Chicago this committee is said to have recommended his dismissal. The trustees reportedly voted 28 to one for it, only Archbishop Paul Hallinan of Atlanta dissenting. Father Curran had just been approved for promotion to associate professor, which carries a three-year contract renewal, by the School of Theology faculty and the full Academic Senate of the university. All that was needed to make his promotion effective was the signature of the rector. Instead he was told that his contract, which runs out August 31, would not be renewed. He was given no reasons for the action. He was never given any hearing on any specific charges. He pointed out that this is a violation of both the letter and the spirit of Pope Paul's *Motu Proprio Integrae Servandae* which grants controversial authors a

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hearing and a full opportunity of defending themselves. Father Curran also insisted that if any hearing were held on his views he should be judged by his theological peers and have counsel present. University regulations state that a man can be dismissed only if found guilty of teaching heresy or of immorality.

Father Curran's book, *Christian Morality Today,* is used in many CU classes. The Newman book shop across from the campus has sold over 1,000 copies since it was published last fall by Fides Publishers. Contents of the book range from a discussion of freedom and authority in the Church to the problem of Sunday observance, with heavy emphasis on marriage and family planning problems. His views are obviously held by many theologians today and his expression of them is not without caution. He holds principally that theology is a continually developing science, that human situations are constantly changing and presenting new ethical problems and consequently the Church should be more open to theological change and to the voice of its people. He is a shrewd middle-of-the-roader who does not want to be any Charles Davis.

The gangling, bespectacled, 33-year-old professor from Rochester is personable and popular. He is held in high regard by his CU colleagues and enjoys wide professional esteem. He is considered one of the bright young men necessary to bring the CU School of Sacred Theology up to date so it can grapple competently with the new post-conciliar world. Father John Quinlan, a sacred scripture professor at the theology school, told the initial rally for Father Curran, when word of his dismissal had just stunned the campus, "When I came to this school of theology it was ridden with failure, with bitterness and with ugliness. In the last four years, four or five young men joined us. They brought us joy. They brought us warmth. And they brought us intelligence. For a while a glow began to come and I believe that glow might brighten into splendor, and now they want to take from us Father Curran of our school. We have destroyed enough. Let us build, and let us keep the integrity and the honesty and beauty and dedication of these men with us."

Rhetoric flowed freely as the rebellion built and in the course of the first few days Father Curran was compared with St. Thomas More, St. Stephen, the first martyr, Msgr. John Tracy Ellis who had earlier tangled with the university and lost, Msgr. John A. Ryan, the controversial social justice pioneer, Father Seigman, Dreyfus, Isaac on the altar of sacrifice, Billy Budd, Jesus Christ confronting the Grand Inquisitor of Seville in Dostoevsky's tale, Joseph K., the hero of Kafka's *The Trial,* who finds himself fighting with someone he never sees over some issue he does not know, and Charlie Brown, the pitcher of his baseball team, standing on the mound of academic freedom.

The rhetoric was serious. A great earnestness pervaded the campus. Everyone knew it was no spring lark, but a stark confrontation with the American hierarchy. Student pickets and strike leaders urged each other to be orderly, even neatly dressed. The decorum covered a buoyant feeling that the shutdown was a positive action necessary to free the university from the shackles of another age. "The trustees who voted on Charlie Curran," said one priest, "couldn't even pass one of his courses." The use of authority and the modern demands of professionalism were felt to be at stake.

When Father Curran, newly approved by his theology peers and the entire academic governing body of the university for promotion, was repudiated by the trustees, the entire faculty was in effect repudiated. They had all laid their heads on the block. The meeting in which the faculty cast its fateful vote was an emergency session called by the Faculty Assembly. The Faculty Assembly, a group of 104 full professors of the university, was formed last fall to reform academic procedures and provide liaison with the administration. If it hadn't existed there would have been no other means for dealing with the situation, for the Academic Senate, whose integrity had been called into question, is chaired by the rector and it was hardly expected that he would call a meeting to condemn his own actions. The Faculty Assembly invited all 600 full-time faculty members. The room where they met in McMahon Hall has a capacity of 488 and it was nearly full. The law and education faculties were reluctant to endorse a shutdown because they were worried about their students' getting courses finished in time to take bar examinations and get teaching certificates. Some wanted a more gentle resolution-passing type of approach. Only one speaker had any real objections. When the vote to boycott was taken only 18 of the faculty members stood up to oppose it.

The faculty resolution said the action of the trustees had put CU "outside the American academic community" and raised "grave questions for the continuation of Catholic higher education in America, in the minds and hearts of Catholic teachers and students over the entire country." The academic competence and integrity of the faculty and the Senate had been called into question, it said, and "the academic freedom of the man, of the faculty of the School (of Sacred Theology), and of the whole university is thereby jeopardized to the peril of its reputation, accreditation and academic standing." Therefore, said the faculty, it could not and would not function unless and until Father Charles Curran was reinstated.

Asked about the feelings of the faculty as they voted, Physics Prof. Malcolm Henderson, Chairman of the Faculty Assembly, said "There was good solid resentment at the meddling of the trustees. The way this whole thing was handled by the trustees reminds me of Gilbert and Sullivan."

Said one faculty member, "The place might just as well close down if we lose this one. I always said the battle of the Catholic Church in America was going to be

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won or lost at Catholic University. The bishops must realize that there has to be a real change of attitude toward American Catholics. CU is crucial in this issue of freedom and authority, and now we have forced the issue.

Now that the trustees and the hierarchy have backed down, the faculty wants more positive action to follow the vindication of Father Curran. They will probably move in with proposals to have a substantial number of faculty members elected to the board of trustees and one to the board's executive committee, to reconstitute a subcommittee to study the future prospects of the university named by the trustees at the April 10 meeting so that it will include prominent outside educators, and to reorganize and enlarge the Academic Senate to provide greater representation for faculty members.

NORMA KRAUSE HERZFELD

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STRIKE NO. 2

MEANWHILE, BACK IN PHILADELPHIA

Philadelphia

The Archdiocese of Philadelphia is unparalleled for its free school system. Over 59,000 pupils attend its 28 tuition-free high schools. The late Cardinal O'Hara, archbishop of Philadelphia from 1952-1960, felt strongly about the system: "Those with weak faith are the ones most likely to excuse their children from Catholic education if there is a tuition charge." ". . . If the Holy Ghost sends these children to us, we must provide for them." The pattern continues under Archbishop Krol. As one priest-teacher puts it, "The system has become a kind of 'spiritual principle.' "

The cost of maintaining such a tuition-free system can be high. Each parish is assessed $150 per year for each of its students in the high school system. With the announcement of an increase from $100 this year the pastors were told that they might request the parents to pay this additional sum, but if the parents are unwilling or unable, the parish pays the entire $150 for any student who chooses to go to a diocesan high school. The poorer parishes, unable to cope with the additional burden, ask the students for "voluntary offerings," have regular drawings to raise the funds, or even take the deficit out of the parish savings.

The other expense is manpower, and, in the Philadelphia situation, priest-power. Close to 200 diocesan priests teach religion, English, mathematics or what-have-you in the diocesan high school system. The reason is clearly financial; these teachers, like the curates, are paid $1200 a year. A few with pastoral inclinations resent teaching, but as one priest said, "This is Philadelphia, they've been through the Philadelphia seminary, they knew this was a strong possibility. Most of them are happy."

Despite the large sums of money poured into the system —Cardinal O'Hara is said to have spent about $29 million on Catholic high schools—salaries have remained considerably below those of local public schools, and the maximum salary is not reached for 20 years, in contrast to 11 in the public system.

In 1965 a group of Catholic high school teachers organized the Association of Catholic Teachers (ACT), which claims about 450 out of over 600 lay teachers in the diocesan high school system. ACT saw its function in fairly broad terms—to clarify the role and duties of the lay teacher in a Catholic school, to supply adequate representation with the diocese, to further professional competence. One stumbling block was the teachers' contracts, which did not specify the number of days' work, number of hours, amount of substitute work to be assigned, or date of payment—on one occasion some teachers went for more than 40 days without a check. John Murray, ACT president, said, "The only right we had was the right to receive money." Some of ACT's demands have since been met: the archdiocese has inaugurated a system of grants and tuition aids, and teachers may no longer be assigned to subjects outside their competency. When the archdiocese refused to recognize ACT as a bargaining agent, a strike was called for March 8. On March 7 the archdiocese agreed to negotiate, and the strike was averted. Negotiation meetings have been in progress since that time, but the archdiocese refused to negotiate on salary.

Until now beginning minimum salaries were $4500 for men and $4300 for women. The teachers have been asking for parity between men and women and a starting rate of $5000; the archdiocese was willing to go only to $4800. The effects of the struggle are being felt in Catholic academies outside the system: in some cases starting salaries are now being raised from $4000 to $4800.

On Wednesday April 12 the ACT announced a strike for the following Monday. Negotiations continued on and off through the weekend. Then early Sunday morning the lay teachers received special delivery letters from Msgr. Edward T. Hughes, the Superintendent of Schools, including the proposed salary scale and a press release. After stating that "A strike now will be in clear violation of the signed contracts of the individual teachers, and therefore illegal," he stressed that "Our commitment is to educate all our young people including those from our poor and disadvantaged families. This commitment to the poor and underprivileged is the basic reason we are

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undergoing this agonizing controversy."

At seven o'clock Monday morning the first strike of Catholic teachers in the United States began. More than 250 pickets appeared at 25 of the high schools and at Archbishop Krol's home. Thirty minutes later came the news that the strike was over. Details of the settlement were not immediately revealed.

The Archdiocese had been preparing to fill the vacancies in the schools by asking religious orders to supply supplementary teachers and calling for local volunteers. On the day before the strike a number of curates received special delivery letters from the Chancellor telling them that the archbishop had called upon them to teach high school for the duration of the emergency.

Most of these curates seemed ready to cross the picket lines. Most felt that the teachers' decision was unethical. A few had decided to refuse. One told of being alarmed at the easy conscience of the priests who knew they were jeopardizing the position of a man with a wife and family. Another saw the problem primarily as one of professional standards; he repeated several times, "The school year will end as of tomorrow."

Even some ACT members were prepared to cross the line to teach. One young woman said, "In Philadelphia we think our schools are pretty important."

The teachers were quite confident that a number—in some schools the majority—of religious would refuse to cross the lines. A few religious had pledged themselves to this, and several religious superiors had told their communities this was a "matter of private conscience."

The majority of the Philadelphia laity undoubtedly supported the archdiocese in the strike. School attendance on the whole seemed normal, despite the fact that many students would have had to leave before the announcement of the settlement. One priest said that "our Catholics have been led to believe they have a spiritual right to a free Catholic education." Another felt that "the average parishioner has been oversold on Catholic schools just like on clerical celibacy."

Whether the schools will remain tuition-free is the big question. ACT's Murray sees no need for further tuition; some of the other union people say that the archdiocese is penny-wise, pound-foolish. Archdiocesan comptroller Father Arthur Nace has warned that the public schools "may very well be required to accept notably more Catholic school children into the public schools than they have hitherto been accustomed to enroll," and asked city and state officials to "study all possible avenues of aid to our school system." Public school officials already talk of a "shock effect."

In any case the archdiocese of Philadelphia has some serious financial problems to face, and in the popular mind it is the lay teachers who are the villains.

ARLENE SWIDLER

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Mrs. Governor Faces the Feds

The state of Alabama and the United States Government once again find themselves in an eyeball to eyeball confrontation after the March 22nd school desegregation decision of a Federal District Court. The decision places Gov. Lurleen Wallace, Superintendent of Schools Ernest Stone, and the State Board of Education under court order to move "affirmatively" to bring about school desegregation in Alabama.

This marks the first time that an entire state rather than a scattering of individual school districts has been placed under court order to desegregate. It also marks the opening of the 1968 presidential campaign of George Wallace.

A threat of defiance to the order was hurled forth by Governor Wallace in a speech to the Alabama legislature on March 30 in which she pledged, "Whatever need be done will be done." After drawing a frightening (and misrepresentative) picture of Alabama schools centralized under Federal court control, Mrs. Wallace resorted to the doctrine of interposition in claiming that the Federal court had acted illegally. She then asked the legislature to issue a cease and desist order to be served on the court. Ominously, she also asked the state to consider providing more state troopers in order "that the children of our state might be protected."

All this, of course, is legal nonsense. The doctrine of interposition holds that the state can place itself between the Federal government and individual citizens and thus determine the validity of Federal court actions according to whether or not they square with state law. This preposterous interpretation of the Federal union was first discredited in 1809, and, as a legal doctrine, has gone downhill from that point. Nobody seriously accepts interposition, but the rhetoric provides the aura of a legal argument, if not the substance.

Exactly what is the strategy of the Governors Wallace is rather difficult to determine from the speech, the main legacy of which so far seems to be a general confusion among all concerned. Mrs. Wallace did ask the legislature to consider placing her at the head of the state education system so that any direct confrontation will occur between the Wallaces and the "Feds," not the Superintendent of Schools and the "Feds." Such a confrontation, some suggest, involving the hauling off of a female Governor to jail after contempt of court proceedings, would provide a good setting for the ex-Governor's presidential campaign. At the same time, however, Mrs. Wallace seemed to suggest that the battle would be fought on legal grounds. Thus: "We together will go forward with a firm determination to win this battle, day by day, inch by inch

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[wild applause drowning out the remainder of the sentence, which in the transcript continued] and decree by decree, all within the law."

As of yet the legislature has not acted, and there is speculation that it will not act until summer, if at all. The inaction is due, not to any opposition on the legislature's part, but to the fact that no initiatives have come from the Governor since her speech. In fact, this Alabama legislature is completely dominated by the Wallaces (unlike the previous one which refused to approve the constitutional amendment necessary for George Wallace to succeed himself in office).

The Wallaces can do anything they want to do with the legislature. The question is what do they want to do, and, even more important, what do they hope to accomplish. There is no conceivable chance that the Wallaces can win this fight, either through the courts or by standing in schoolhouse doors. Certainly George Wallace is intelligent enough (or at least, by now, has had enough experience in these matters) to realize this. Any analysis of his actions must go beyond this immediate situation to the presidential political prospects of the former Governor.

Wallace is apparently determined to undertake a serious campaign in all parts of the country. Racism per se is unlikely to get him many votes except in the South. Instead, a more appealing issue must be found. And a reading of his wife's speech indicates he has found it. "This order takes over every single aspect of the operation of every school system within the state of Alabama . . . Under the order of March 22nd, the three-judge court will determine . . . the complete determination of educational policy [sic] . . . Alabama is not the battleground—the entire nation is the battleground. Alabama must win this fight—for if she loses—America loses."

So Wallace's pitch will be that the Federal government has become all pervasive in America, even to the point of controlling local school systems through a Federal court order. He will then slam this home in the North by obliquely pointing at de facto segregation in northern cities and saying, in effect, "and you're next, buddy!" Sublimated racism, as the former Governor undoubtedly realizes, goes over much better in the North than the hard core stuff.

What, therefore, will the Governors Wallace do in the current crisis? Minimally they will keep as many options open to themselves as possible. Any direct confrontation, should one come, probably will occur in the relatively distant future, not in the next few weeks. Certainly they will fight through the courts (They have already appealed the decision to the Supreme Court, asked for a stay—and had it denied.) And, as of now, it appears that they are complying with the first part of the decree which requires each local school district to present to the Superintendent of Education an acceptable desegregation plan.

The best bet, if our analysis of the Wallaces' political motives is correct, is that they will continue to comply, but that this will be accompanied by a lot of militant sounding noises which should assure an attentive national audience for the drama. After fighting through the courts, and after ringing denunciations of the "Feds", Wallace will accept defeat, defiant, unbowed, and unbroken—but peacefully. Standing in schoolhouse doors does not go over nearly as well in the North as in the South. He will then embark on a national campaign with the hope that his noble defeat at the hands of a tyrannical Federal government is etched deeply in the minds of the nation's citizenry.

HAROLD WOLMAN

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PLANNED PARENTHOOD WORLD CONFERENCE

PILLS, COILS AND ABORTION

Two days before I left South Bend for the 8th International Conference of Planned Parenthood in Santiago, Chile, I received a letter from a priest missionary in Africa. He raised several basic questions about family planning which I decided to keep in mind while I spent mid-April observing the scene in Santiago with my usual "objectivity." Briefly, he asked if birth control was not essentially a negative approach to the problem of human development? Was not economic development the heart of the matter? What constitutes human fulfillment anyway? Is middle-class America to serve as the norm? In fact, "is it not better to be, even if one exists historically for only a short period of time . . . ? Finally, in the society of the Masai, the highest human value is children."

The opening day program, significant as the first time the President of a country ever addressed an IPPF Conference, plunged right into the missionary's problem. Lord Caradon, United Kingdom Minister of State and Permanent Representative at the UN, argued the need for family limitation if social and economic development are to be achieved. He declared that his experiences in Jamaica had convinced him that family planning was central to any effective attack on poverty. Current patterns of population growth, he said, are "an unforgivable waste of the most precious thing in the world—a human personality."

The Chilean Minister of Health, Dr. Ramon Valdivieso, gave a very cautious speech. Using population projections for Chile through 1985, he showed that the same level of development could be achieved within three years with either high or low rates of growth. So he tended

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to question economic development as a basic argument. Rather he stated that it was the problem of abortion which validated their birth control program. For him and apparently for many Chileans, the fact that there is probably an abortion for every 3 or 4 live births, that maternity hospitals are crowded with post-abortion problems and that so many women die of criminal abortions makes family planning a desirable alternative.

President Frei was listed as the first speaker, but actually spoke last, without notes and only for about 4 minutes. Some observers felt that he looked very unhappy sitting up there on the stage, others that political pressures had forced him to cancel his prepared speech at the last minute. My own reaction was that his presence was the important thing, and that his government was continuing to act—for whatever reasons. I was impressed by the number of delegates from other Latin American countries who pointed to Chile as the key factor in their own decisions to embark on family planning programs.

Very little that was *new* was heard in Santiago, but certain themes seemed to emerge. Among the delegates as a whole, and especially among those from all parts of Latin America, there was a sense of anticipation that they were now ready to act. Hierarchical Church opposition was unceremoniously dismissed, even by the clergy, and there was a surprisingly large number of them present. In at least two other Latin American countries doctors appear to have the support of members of the hierarchy.

But if the general theme was that "we are ready now to tackle this problem," there was growing awareness among the experts of how complex the problem is. While some reports documented the high rate of acceptance and effectiveness of the IUD (Dr. Jaime Zipper of Chile for example), others revealed high drop-out rates, medical difficulties and disillusionment with the IUD. In fact, the pill seems to be achieving acceptance as an alternative in places previously thought impossible.

To me, the most interesting comments on abortion came from a Yugoslav scientist in response to a question relating abortion to contraception. Recent studies in Yugoslavia show several phases of development: First, general reliance on induced abortion till governmental easing of abortion laws and institution of contraceptive programs led to a second phase in which induced abortion remained dominant while legal abortions reached a different audience. In the third phase, both types of abortion decreased with contraceptives becoming more popular. By the fourth phase contraceptives had become dominant, with induced abortion dropping to third place. This appears to be the only solid data yet available to help us predict what may be expected in the next few years of the relationship between contraceptives and legal and induced abortion.

But what about the motivation to limit family size? The delegates from all parts of the world stated emphatically that there is no shortage of desire for help. Effective programs are what they need, programs that include sex education, concern for the changing status of women and more explicit awareness of the values of love between parents and for their children. I did a little public opinion sampling on my own in two working class suburbs of Santiago. Most impressive was the eagerness of the women to speak out. In one house nine women and some of their children crowded into a small living room to chat with us. All but one indicated that they thought the ideal family size was two or three children, and that most of them and their friends had already passed that number. They were unanimous in stating that their husbands wanted *no* more children. But they were worried about the IUD and would only admit that some of their friends had been to the Health Service for help. Their stated reason for wanting to limit their families was the difficulty of bringing up and educating their children.

We saw a new school in this same suburb: 1200 pupils and 11 teachers. The Chilean budget for education increased 55 percent in the past two years, and has not been able to keep pace with the demands for teachers.

Chile is not overpopulated in an absolute sense, and there is a great air of optimism among both leaders and masses. But despite programs, their approach to family planning is uneven. For example, a certain kind of public housing (CORVI) has as a basic rule that only families with four or more children are eligible. With such a terrible shortage of decent housing in Chile, does the four-child plus rule encourage fertility among couples with only two or three children? In Chile, perhaps also in other countries, the President acts as godfather for the seventh child born in any family. Is this just a quaint traditional pattern, or another form of pronatalism?

On the medical side, there is still no good scientific evidence on the mechanism of action of the IUD. Even if Dr. Liugi Mastroianni of the University of Pennsylvania and his colleagues were to find evidence of fertilization in their studies, this would hardly constitute evidence of abortion. The word abortion means the removal of an object from its place, and there is no evidence at all that the IUD acts after nidation. Dr. Mastroianni stressed the fact that scientists are just beginning to learn about the Fallopian tube, which he described as a highly dynamic organism, perhaps better known as "the first tunnel of love." It may be years before we can know with some degree of probability the mechanism of action of the IUD.

More than anything else, the Conference revealed to me a tremendous number of people in all parts of the world who are dedicated to alleviating human suffering and making life more dignified and meaningful, full of love and opportunity for parents and children. Catholics would do well to find ways to collaborate with Planned Parenthood organizations as they begin to review their programs.

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PEACE POLITICS AND 1968

A third-party candidate for President?

ARTHUR I. WASKOW

This past year saw what was possibly an unprecedented event in American electoral politics: a loose nation-wide network of "peace candidacies," campaigns which had in common their firm opposition to a war being conducted by the administration in power. There was no such phenomenon in 1950 or 1952, in 1942 or 1944, in 1918 or in 1898; one would have to look to 1864 or 1814 to find some hazy parallels. Was this effort at peace politics a one-shot affair, born of frustration and doomed to frustration? Or should we now expect harder work, firmer commitment, and more long-range planning from larger numbers of peace-commited voters?

First of all, what was the peace politics of 1966? It baffles the quick-draw analyst. Some candidates ran for the United States Senate and others for the Newark City Council. There were Negroes out of the slums and at least two relatives of past Presidents (Herbert F. Hoover in Iowa and Thomas B. Adams in Massachusetts). There were Republicans, Socialists, Democrats, and members of the New Left. There was even one living, breathing Communist—Herbert Aptheker, in New York. Some of the candidates left behind them a growing, vital organization; others left only bitterness, apathy, or even a total blank.

So it looks at first glance like a kaleidoscope, not a movement. But there are some patterns, even to a kaleidoscope:

First, the major-party candidates, even where they ran worst—in a primary against a strong incumbent or in a general election where the district was dominated by the other party—did far better in attracting votes than the independents, the Liberal Party candidates in New York, or the write-ins.

Secondly, all of the most vigorous "peace-oriented" incumbent Congressmen won—for example, all seven who voted against the supplemental Vietnam appropriation in 1965, and several others who organized and led local public hearings about Vietnam to protest the absence of official hearings.

More important, however, was the extent to which the peace campaigns resulted in permanent organizations. By this standard some of the low-vote efforts look as if they will turn out to be successes, and some of the high-vote campaigns were failures. Two independent candidates in Connecticut and the New Jersey Democrat David Frost built organizations that look as if they will become permanent on the style of Massachusetts Political Action for Peace or the California Committee for New Politics. But the much larger number of voters gathered by Democrat Howard Morgan in Oregon have so far shown no evidence of turning themselves into a permanent organization. Only if new local organizations are built will American politics be permanently affected by the new peace candidacies.

Both in terms of the votes cast and in terms of permanent organizing, the most important lesson to be learned from the 1966 campaigns was this: peace-only politics was ineffective. The solid successes were won by the multi-issue candidates to whom ending the war in Vietnam was part of a broad-scale program. There were conservative, liberal, and radical ways of being multi-issue. For example, Mark Hatfield appealed to the business community of Oregon by questioning the war not only on moral and legal grounds but also as disruptive to the orderly workings of the economy—for example, to the housing industry. Ted Weiss, a Reform Democrat who won 49 percent of

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the primary vote in a heavily Democratic district in Manhattan, appealed to liberals and Negroes by attacking the war as clearly immoral and illegal, and as totally destructive of the poverty program and other kinds of social reform at home.

The most radical multi-issue program was set forth by Robert Scheer, the candidate of the New Left in the Berkeley-Oakland district who won 45 percent of the vote in the Democratic primary. Scheer charged the war was only one symptom of a pervasively sick society, and called for enormous changes that would give great power to the poor, to students, to Negroes and Spanish-speaking Americans, and to the citizens of small countries in the underdeveloped world. His appeal was to the desperate Negroes of Oakland and the post-affluent young people of Berkeley, those Americans under 25 who seem to be trying to build a whole new civilization—judging from their dress, their music, their forms of sexuality and ecstasy—and who have responded warmly to the most radical criticisms of the old civilization.

The point of "multi-issue" peace politics, of whichever sort, is that only by connecting the issue of war and peace to the issues of immediate domestic concern can those who care most about peace command the attention of those who care most about the schools, or the slums, or food prices. Some critics of the peace movement have indeed argued that the "multi-issue" approach is so important that when a candidate like Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois is "good" on domestic issues like civil rights and poverty but supports the war, the peace movement should support him—or at least not oppose him. But most of the peace candidates and their supporters vigorously disagreed. They argued that even if a domestic reformer were elected, he could do little *in fact* to improve race relations, end poverty, or transform the schools, so long as the war went on—chewing up money, obsessing able political leaders, and creating new fears, frustrations, and tensions in the country. They argued, therefore, that "their own" issue was at least as important to effective change as any other issue and indeed that it provided the "key" to many groups in America that have been baffled by their inability during the last decade to win the changes they seek.

Judging from the political events of the last two years, there are six such identifiable groups in American society —groups that might be organized around a multi-issue peace politics. Some of these could probably be most effective in electoral action; others not.

Students, except in a few places like Berkeley where their numbers are enormous, might be wise to use direct action rather than electoral politics, and to concentrate on clearing the campus of the military presence (the draft rankings, germ-warfare research contracts, ROTC, etc.).

The *clergy* might find it more befitting their special roles to react to the war's immorality through direct action rather than election campaigns. (Imagine the impact of rabbis, priests, and ministers carrying huge Torahs and Crosses to block factories making napalm.)

The *"new class" of the educated*, from 25 to 40 years old—the teachers, lawyers, psychiatrists, social workers, professors who in California and New York have been the new politicos of principle, the Reform Democrats—one might almost describe them as the Dr. Spock-readers —are perfectly placed for electoral action. Not only do they care about peace, they care also about the quality of American society, the schools that cannot be improved, the air pollution that cannot be ended so long as $20 billion a year at least is being spent on Vietnam and another $50 billion on the arms race in general. They should concentrate their efforts and money in suburban counties where they are especially numerous or in cities where they can make local alliances with . . .

The Negroes, an astounding proportion of whom believe the war deprives them of social reform, or is a white man's war but a black man's fight, or is a white man's war against colored men.

Lower middle-class and working-class people who are economically hurt by the war inflation may respond to contact on the local level and an explanation of how their personal woes result in part from the war.

Finally, some *businessmen* who are especially hurt by the war—housing and savings-and-loan men, for example, who have been badly damaged by the drying-up of credit attendant on the war—might respond to the peace argument, although usually in terms of a Percy or a Hatfield.

"Both in terms of the votes cast and in terms of permanent organizing, the most important lesson to be learned from the 1966 campaigns was this: peace-only politics was ineffective."

What Strategy for '68?

Where will—and should—the peace politics movement turn as it looks to 1968? There has been talk of finding a third-party candidate for President who could unite Negroes, peace-oriented liberals, and perhaps some other Democrats disenchanted with the Johnson adminstration. (Norman Thomas has suggested Martin Luther King might lead such an effort.) There has been talk of a Draft Kennedy Movement, and alternatively of a campaign for Percy or Hatfield. There has been talk of rejecting electoral politics altogether and returning to demonstrations and direct action as the major activity of the peace movement—a counsel born of frustration and despair over the

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seeming inability of the peace candidates to affect the conduct of the war.

There have also been proposals for reinvigorating peace politics on the local level, instead of focusing on the presidential campaign of 1968. Judging from the enormous variations between districts in 1966, it might indeed be wise for the peace candidates to concentrate on pouring money, volunteers, and energy into particular kinds of districts. For example, any district where a large university and a large Negro or Puerto Rican ghetto are close together, might provide the perfect territory for a campaign that pressed for redirection of funds from the war in Vietnam to a major investment in education. Similarly, suburbs dominated by the new professionals (like Montgomery County, Maryland, on the outskirts of Washington) or a town dominated by a university (like Ann Arbor, Michigan or Cambridge, Massachusetts) may be major reservoirs of peace sentiment that has so far not expressed itself effectively in local politics for various reasons. In Ann Arbor and Montgomery County, for example, the situation is now one in which careful advance organization by the peace movement could mobilize wide sentiment and possibly win or come close to winning a Congressional seat for a peace-committed candidate.

Local peace-oriented alliances may go beyond the "new class" and the Negroes if inflationary pressures deepen during the next year as they did during the last one. For higher prices and a wage freeze enforced by the White House would put the squeeze on organized labor, and anger against the President under such conditions might turn into anger against the war that was fueling the inflation. Although most of the "visible" officialdom of labor strongly supports the war, there is some evidence that in some places local unionists feel differently. In the Dearborn, Michigan, referendum on the war, the labor precincts voted more heavily for withdrawal from Vietnam than did middle-class areas.

The issue of whether to "wait for labor" is, in fact, the one that has most divided those liberals and radicals who oppose the war. Many of the leaders and staff of Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) for example, have been reluctant to press for peace policies and peace candidates that would alienate the national labor leadership or "divide" what they see as the formerly united liberal coalition. They bitterly opposed the entry of a peace candidate into the Democratic primary in Montgomery County, for example, and have hotly condemned Illinois peace workers who chose to support a Republican moderate dove like Charles Percy instead of a Democratic "liberal" hawk like Paul Douglas.

The leaders of the League for Industrial Democracy, including such figures as Bayard Rustin and Irving Howe, have created even sharper dilemmas for peace workers by creating and propagating the "Freedom Budget" in such a way as to please the labor leadership. Although its authors oppose the Vietnam war and increases in the military budget generally, they wrote the Freedom Budget not only to call for a $40 billion increase in the annual Federal budget for domestic spending, but to project a $20 billion increase in the annual budget for "international affairs," including the military services, foreign aid, and space. When asked why they did not specify that none of the increase should go for the military spending which they have often said should be cut instead of increased, they explained that George Meany and other pro-military labor leaders would not have gone along. And they insisted that inclusion of the labor leadership was more important than clarity on behalf of peace.

> ***"Guns and butter we can have; it is guns and bread that is impossible. It is the basic social necessities like decent housing that we are giving up to fight the war."***

In response to that approach, such peace-movement leaders as Seymour Melman of Columbia University and Sanford Gottlieb of SANE have insisted that the peace movement should hammer away at a "priorities" budget: tell the country that ending poverty, rebuilding the cities, creating schools that teach the excitement of learning, and cleaning the air and water rank first—ahead of an "abominable" war. As one peace leader put it, "Guns and butter we can have; it is guns and *bread* that is impossible. It is the basic social necessities like decent housing and clean air that we are giving up to fight the war in Vietnam, while 'butter'—the luxuries of private affluence—keeps coming."

One more refinement of this "priorities" budget has been proposed by the New Left elements of the peace movement. That is the question of who will decide how the money is spent, even assuming it is allocated to domestic needs. Paul Goodman, for example, has warned that if the cities are rebuilt according to the wishes of the mayors, they will be even worse places for the poor to live in. Many students have expressed the fear that more money for the schools and colleges might simply reinforce the most dehumanizing aspects of Big Education, unless the students are involved in deciding how to spend it.

In some ways, therefore, the issue of the "Freedom Budget" lays bare the different gut-felt political needs of three generations of American political liberalism and radicalism. The liberals and socialists of the New Deal generation focus on the labor movement and on the need for a larger Federal budget, see corporate profits as the enemy, and are willing to allow military budgets to con-

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tinue high. The Liberals of the '50s insist on reducing military expenditures, are lukewarm to the labor movement, and, given a choice between doing political battle against corporate profits or against the budgets of the armed services, think it necessary to oppose the military and to put huge sums into the cities—perhaps with corporate involvement. They propose what might be called a "Peace and Freedom Budget." The new radicals of the '60s focus on the question of grass-roots participation in the remaking of America, oppose the corporations, the political establishment, and the military with equal fervor, and demand what might be called a "Peace-Freedom-and Participation Budget."

These divisions suggest the difficulties faced by those who care about peace in trying to work together at any level, local or national, toward another nationwide peace campaign in 1968. They are the reason that many of the peace campaigners have looked so wistfully for a charismatic Superman—Kennedy, Percy, King—or a charismatic Supermarch to lift them out of their disagreements and frustrations. But as the rocky realities become clearer, and both Supermen and Supermarches fail them, the peace people are likely to go back to the dogged work of local organizing.

Crisis over the Dominican Republic

LIBERALS IN WONDERLAND

RUTH SHEREFF

American liberalism is in crisis. Its claim to represent the best possibilities of American life is being challenged. Its stance as the embodiment of the free and open society is falling apart under scrutiny. Civil rights and the poverty fight are at issue, but it is in foreign affairs that liberalism has displayed its greatest weakness and feels most threatened. That is why there is such shock at the exposure of CIA manipulation of liberal organizations, such resentment at *Ramparts'* revelations in some liberal circles, so many unconvincing, nervous attempts at justification. Liberalism—to use the title of John Bartlow Martin's recent book about the Dominican Republic in a way he never expected—has been "overtaken by events."

Two examples, both concerning the Dominican Republic, illustrate what this failure of American liberalism is all about. The first is Martin himself, a former campaign aide to Kennedy who became the U.S. ambassador in Santo Domingo after the fall of Trujillo in 1961. He served through the seven-month democratic administration of Juan Bosch which ended with a military coup in September 1963, and returned again in April 1965 to participate in the diplomatic improvisations that followed the landing of the U.S. Marines in the Dominican Republic. The second case is that of the U.S. social democrats who supported Bosch and tried to patrol the 1966 Dominican elections, but whom recent headlines have named as recipients of CIA funds.

John Bartlow wrote *Overtaken by Events* to justify U.S. opposition to Bosch and U.S. support of the right wing military in the Dominican Republic. But its arguments are weak, partly because Martin as a liberal is ambivalent toward U.S. foreign policy. Finally he rests his case on the premise of anti-Communism, but you can tell he is not convinced. In the process of sorting out details and explaining his own role, Martin reveals more than he could have intended.

In the United States, Martin has been a member of the American Civil Liberties Union, a crusading journalist who had campaigned against segregation in the South and against prison and hospital abuses. By chance he had visited Santo Domingo in 1937 during the reign of Trujillo and was one of the few Americans who recognized that vicious regime for what it was. Like so many other American liberals, he loved that country and wanted to someday see it rebuilt into a showcase of democracy in the Caribbean.

But when he arrived as U.S. ambassador in the Dominican Republic he found himself cast in an unfamiliar role. Dominicans greeted him by burning his car and rioting, for the day he was to present credentials, leading supporters of Trujillo were allowed to escape to the United States. A man bound by his personal tastes, Martin found this hostility baffling and irritating. As a result he had almost no dealings with "average citizens" who confronted him with anti-Americanism at every turn. Instead he related socially only to the oligarchy and military elite whose efficiency and understanding of America's needs he appreciated and whose social savoir-faire he admired. Pages in his book are taken up with descriptions of gracious parties at the homes of Dominican first families. He hunts, fishes and drinks with the generals. Although he admits, "the oligarchy is clearly an anachronistic institution," similar to the old slave-holding South, he explains that it exercises a stabilizing influence. Later the oligarchy aided the coup against Bosch. Typically Martin justifies

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himself, "It may seem odd that a liberal Democrat like myself should come to consider the Dominican oligarchy as one of the really hopeful groups in the Republic."

Furthermore, Martin disliked the flair of Latin temperament. He considered Dominican men vain and feckless and viewed demonstrations and oratory as Castro/Communist inspired, never once considering the value of mass participation in political life. In comparing Bosch's continual appeals to the people with the oligarchy's method of operating behind the scenes, Martin concluded that Bosch was trying to stir up class warfare, that he was an agitator incarnate. In contrast to Bosch, Martin found Colonel Wessin y Wessin, the terse tank commander who aided the coup, to be a fanatic anti-Communist but still a true man, not a "spoiled brat grown up" like other Dominicans. Intellectually, Martin could understand the need for drastic social change, and that the Dominican masses were oppressed by the military and oligarchy. But emotionally he reacted to the great bulk of people as if they were an unpleasant but vociferous minority.

Martin was bound by more than his personality. As an ambassador, he was responsible for defending his country's interests in an island that is strategic from a military, economic and political view. Liberal or not he had to conform to State Department policy. Thus Bosch's proposed constitutional reforms such as separation of church and state and expropriation of large landholdings for agrarian reform were viewed as divisive measures by the American embassy. That thousands of peasants were landless while huge tracts of land lay dormant in the hands of the oligarchy was irrelevant. Despite Martin's pleas Bosch would not sanction deportation of Castro/Communist-affiliated Dominican citizens nor outlaw the left, because such measures violated the constitution. Bosch would not honor unfavorable sugar and oil contracts signed with American firms by the oligarchical government that preceded him, thus scaring away sugar, aluminum and oil companies that were waiting to invest and causing a minor scandal in the State Department. Albeit weakly, Bosch persisted in opposing the military who were publicly plotting the coup. Repeatedly, Martin told Bosch to leave the military alone.

Before Bosch really even began, Washington made the decision to let him slide. His government received virtually no economic aid from the United States, although much had been promised, while aid to the Dominican military increased ten fold when he took office. Furthermore, U.S. opposition to Bosch was more than passive. Martin reveals that the U.S. intervened in the Dominican civil war in April 1965 to save the right wing of the military from certain defeat and to prevent the restoration of the Bosch administration.

Throughout Martin's account you feel that he wanted Bosch to succeed, that he was warning him that if he didn't consent to U.S. demands he would be overthrown. But once Washington opposed Bosch's liberal reforms, there was nothing Martin could do. Martin states, " . . . his brief administration may have been the most honest in Dominican history if not in Latin America. Finally Juan Bosch gave the 3½ million Dominican people seven months of peace and seven months of freedom, things rare and precious in the tragic republic. While Bosch was President, the state killed no one . . . almost no one was arbitrarily imprisoned. This indeed, may be his monument."

But Martin and the rest of the embassy staff were caught up with a phobic anti-Communism and a desire to protect American interests that made impartiality impossible. At one point Martin even admits that he didn't know whether his military attachés were encouraging a coup and that he had difficulty convincing his staff to support Bosch. That a coup was coming was no secret. Right wing organizations even advertised the coup in the Dominican papers months in advance. After the coup, Martin briefly pondered that the threat to democracy might come from the right. But he concluded that after all, a Castro/Communist takeover was what we really had to prevent. With great fanfare, the U.S. cut off diplomatic relations and economic aid after the coup, but military aid was barely cut at all.

In contrast to the embassy's covert opposition to Bosch, numbers of American liberals, attracted by Bosch's reputation as a democratic reformer, flocked to the Dominican Republic to help him with his program. Their efforts were channeled through the Institute of International Labor Research (IILR), a New York-based organization which through the conduit of the Kaplan Foundation received funds from the CIA.

Titularly headed by Norman Thomas, but actively run by the secretary/treasurer Sacha Volman, a socialist from Rumania whom Martin describes as Bosch's confidant, the IILR board of directors was a mixture of anti-Communist labor leaders, social democrats and liberal writers such as Robert Alexander, Harry Kantor, Victor Alba and Frank Trager—specialists in hispanic affairs. Almost all of them were members of other cold-warrior groups named as recipients of CIA funds: the Congress of Cultural Freedom, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and Radio Free Europe. The labor contingent, Sacha Volman, Philip Kaiser, Maida Springer and Charles S. Zimmerman had been involved in post World War II European labor operations, designed to split labor unions away from the far left and ally them to the United States. According to labor analyst Sidney Lens, writing in *The Nation* (July 5, 1965), they operated by slipping funds to more conservative labor leaders, although infiltration and gathering information was a part of the program. Although the IILR agreed with the State Department that Communism, even neutralism, was the major threat to Latin America, tactically they felt it wiser to support social reform and thus remove the discontent leading to agitation. Therefore the IILR also affiliated

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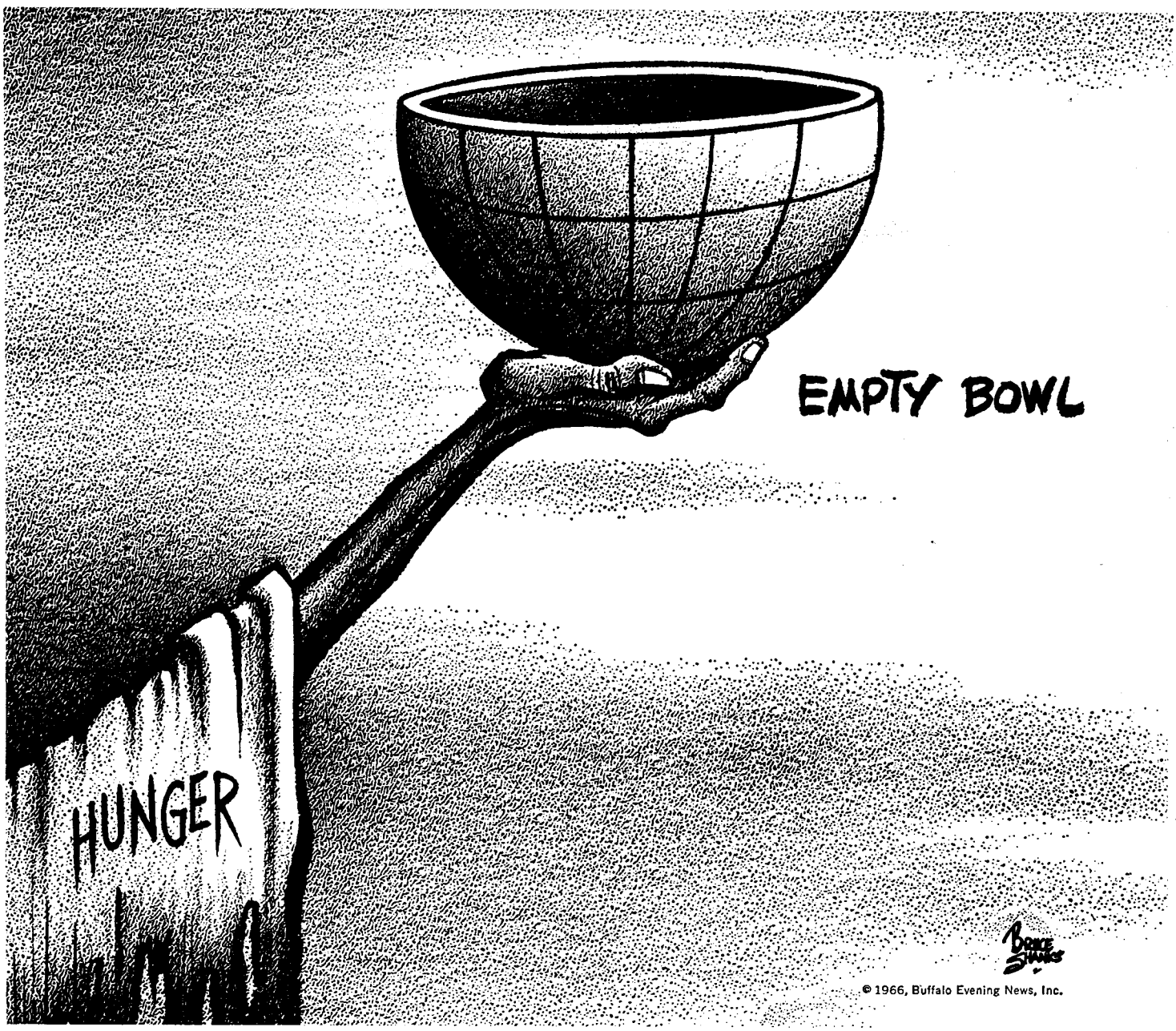
Citizens protest Catholic Bishops' polemic on birth control



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THE RECENT CHARGES of the Roman Catholic Bishops add up to a frontal attack on organized family planning.

The Bishops called upon everyone: "to oppose, vigorously and by every democratic means, those campaigns already underway in some states and at the national level toward the active promotion, by tax-supported agencies, of birth prevention as a public policy, above all in connection with welfare benefit programs."

This aggressive move was made notwithstanding the known facts respecting the population explosion which President Johnson has called "humanity's greatest challenge."

Tidal wave of people

A tidal wave of *three billion* more people will inundate the earth in the next 30 years, *if the present rate of increase is not arrested!*

The population of the United States may increase by 150 million!

Famine already stalks the earth. India, kept from the brink today by U.S. wheat shipments, will add 200 million more people by 1980.

"The world is on the threshold of the biggest famine in history," concludes Dr. Raymond Ewell, former advisor to India's Government. Dr. Ewell predicts famine in India, Pakistan and Communist China about 1970, and in Brazil, Egypt, Indonesia, and Turkey soon after.

The Bishops' polemic encompasses all family planning, *domestic and international.* It strikes at "our Government's stepped-up intervention in family planning, including the subsidizing of contraceptive programs at home and abroad...."

World catastrophe in prospect

If the Bishops were to succeed in their efforts:

1. Millions of women on welfare would be deprived of the knowledge and effective methods of preventing the birth of children they cannot care for.
2. Legislators may hold back welfare funds for family planning through fear of reprisal at the polls, thereby increasing the tax burden of unwanted children.
3. Federal administrators, whose "stepped-up" programs the Bishops have attacked, may discontinue or diminish these programs.
4. The President of the United States himself is threatened by the Bishops' warning that *"our public officials be on guard..."*
5. Congressmen may hesitate to advance the program on foreign aid in the population field so splendidly begun by the 89th Congress. Without population control the huge *$7 billion* Food for Peace program will be a mere stopgap, saving the lives of those who would produce still more hungry people.

"Either we take the fullest measures both to raise productivity and to stabilize population growth, or we face a disaster of unprecedented magnitude," according to Dr. B. R. Sen, Director-General of the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization.

If such measures are not taken, it is likely that Americans—a humane people—may be rationing their own food in the not distant future.

Public favors birth control

John F. Kennedy was the first U.S. President to concern himself officially with the problem of population limitation.

The Bishops' attack has been read by enlightened Catholic leaders with a sense of unbelief and dismay. They have called it unrealistic, out-of-date, reactionary and inconsistent with the spirit of Vatican II in the modern world. Professor William D'Antonio of Notre Dame University referred to the Bishops' statement as "beating a dead horse."

Asked in a Gallup survey last year if birth control information ought to be easily available to any married persons wanting it, *81 per cent of Catholics and 86 per cent of non-Catholics said YES.*

The battle will be won

The magnitude of the challenge, however, is so great that only Government can meet it fully.

Individuals and organizations should speak out quickly in vigorous support of the Government's family planning program. Contact Federal, State and City officials. Point out that the American people—Catholics, Protestants and Jews—are overwhelmingly for the program.

Birth control is a *popular cause* which public officials can support confidently.

If in the years to come the earth should be ravaged by the fabled horsemen of the Apocalypse—War, Famine, Disease and Death—let the responsibility not be ours.

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itself with Betancourt of Venezuela, Figueres of Costa Rica, and other Latin American social democratic leaders.

Martin explains that in the Dominican Republic, Bosch could not cooperate directly with the American embassy since he "did not want to appear a U.S. puppet." Instead a "shadow planning board" under an IILR subgroup CIDES was created and independently financed. The planned program included models for urban renewal, farm to market roads, poor people's restaurants, cooperatives and educational TV. With the aid of John Roche, CIDES was going to train civil servants. Volman himself was working on projects of organizing peasant and worker leagues; the peasant leagues were partially responsible for the Bosch victory in the December 1962 elections. The theory behind these groups, according to a report made by Volman to the Brookings Institute in 1964, was to reach, shape and direct potential leaders among labor union members, students and peasants—thus preventing a Communist or neutralist movement from taking root.

Bosch was completely surrounded by these activities. Whether he had any choice in their plans remains a mystery. Certainly priorities were not stacked in favor of the Dominicans. As Martin reveals, development never left the planning stages because the money didn't come through. Only Kaplan Foundation funds for training Volman's pro-American cadres was available. In spite of this reality, the IILR continued to praise a non-existent Alliance for Progress program, giving the false impression that the U.S. supported Bosch. John Bartlow Martin was the first eye-witness to print a part of the truth.

Although the IILR disbanded in the fall of 1965, essentially the same people reorganized in the Committee for Free Elections in the Dominican Republic. They were ostensibly hoping that this was another chance for Bosch and democracy in that stricken land. Norman Thomas was the official director. Other leading members were Allard Lowenstein, a New York lawyer, Bayard Rustin, a civil rights leader, and although his name was never mentioned in the Committee literature, Sacha Volman was again a driving force. According to a Committee Report their first accomplishment was convincing Bosch to run in an election he felt was not only premature but, due to terror from the right, prejudiced against him. On threat of assassination, Bosch had remained cloistered in his house; his party ran almost no campaign. After making a preliminary tour of the Dominican Republic for the Committee, Allard Lowenstein and Bayard Rustin noted that Bosch was losing the rural vote by not making personal appearances. But they didn't report that the rural 70 percent of the population was subjected to terror from the American-trained military who were supporting Balaguer. By some strange mathematics, they felt Bosch could win by carrying the cities. Furthermore, it was hoped that since violence would be averted for the two days before and after the elections while American observers were present, Dominicans would be able to get to the polls unmolested. It is a credo of faith with some Americans that elections patterned after ours are a guarantee of freedom and democracy, but most Dominicans felt if Bosch were elected, he would only be overthrown again—with American consent.

It was on the basis of an orderly vote that Norman Thomas, urged on by Lowenstein, Volman and newsmen, made a statement before the votes were even counted that the elections seemed to be free. Allard Lowenstein explained to me later that had the elections not been held or declared free by the observers, the youth of the country might have rebelled and bloodshed would have followed.

The Committee never made a further report. However Puerto Rican members of the group issued their own statement in disagreement with Thomas. Their general feeling, reported in the July 1966 *San Juan Review,* was that the elections were premature and held in an atmosphere of coercion and fear. They agreed that ". . . the Dominican people associate the presence of the North American government [the OAS troops] with a right-wing, pro-Balaguer movement" and pointed out that the U.S. had staked its prestige on the election; ". . . a victory by Bosch meant . . . a repudiation of the intervention."

The presence of the Committee gave the impression of a U.S. neutrality which Thomas, Volman and the others should have known did not exist. Although they had objected to the 1965 landing of the Marines, by whitewashing the elections they ended up sanctioning that interventionist policy. Not that the Dominican situation would be any different had the Committee been more frank, but at least the record would be straight.

Now the dream of a democratic Dominican Republic is all but gone. The new president, Joaquin Balaguer, who took office July 1, 1966 is the former right hand man of Trujillo. Judiciary and military posts are being filled by ex-Trujillo henchmen. Despite the Committee's efforts at pacification, members of the rebel movement have been picked off one by one, exiled or interned. The left-of-center opposition, including Bosch's Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) and the Christian Socialist Party, is legally limited in its activities and pressured into virtual silence. The elections were the perfect time to publicize the record of U.S. opposition to Bosch during his democratic administration and to let people see what goes on behind the screen of Alliance for Progress rhetoric. Neither the IILR nor the Committee for Free Elections ever reported accurately what they witnessed there.

For both John Bartlow Martin and the IILR, clear-cut dissent or exposé was unthinkable, because they had set themselves to the impossible task of working for minor gains within a system dedicated to anti-Communism and the maintenance of American power abroad. Basically they agreed with these foreign policy aims and disagreed only with the extremes to which they were applied. Thus Martin followed Washington's orders without

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flinching while the IILR preached a pro-American anti-neutralist doctrine that was ridiculous in the Dominican context. It was not the Communists or neutralists that helped massacre over 2000 Dominicans in April 1965 and spent over $130 million dollars in the process of shoring up the oligarchy and right wing military.

Several people connected with the IILR told me that they had tricked the CIA into supporting progressive measures. Perhaps they thought it was a clever ploy to promote social reform as the best bulwark against Communism, but Bosch was still overthrown, the Marines still landed in Santo Domingo and Trujillo's former aide has still been installed as President of the Republic. Furthermore the IILR operations were a perfect set-up for intelligence gathering because their liberal rhetoric would disarm Latin progressives who normally would not associate with Americans. Martin himself mentions that he trusted only those left-of-center Dominican leaders who had studied with Volman in a Costa Rican school.

Their neutralization of dissent was crucial. As long as Dominicans believed that there was an active dissent within the United States that could help them, they would not be quite as anti-American as our foreign policy merits. Conversely, young Americans who went with the Committee for Free Elections under the guise of doing something more positive than mere protest were deceived. The dissent in each case was an illusion. Whether the IILR performed some more insidious function such as helping split Bosch's PRD remains to be investigated. Volman was known to be at odds with several of the major PRD leaders.

The liberal claim that operating within the system gives more leverage to influence change was revealed in this experience as empty. Worse, it is this misconception that opened the sincere liberals within the group to infiltration and control by the CIA. Their mistakes were too convenient to State Department policy to have been coincidental. The revelation of the CIA aid to the IILR has been painful but well deserved. It should not be forgotten that for all the good will of the liberals who worked in the Dominican Republic, the Dominican people had to bear the brunt of their experiments.

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FREDERIC WILL

THREE FOR THE AGE

1. Bomarc

Passing I happened to hear
standing near the launching pads
men speaking of flame, sheer
vertical passage. I tried
several, to learn their meaning.

Surely that is the bird?
None denied.

After a while it flew.
Shook, rose, poured
swallowed the infinite air
vanished evenly, where
God knows.

We were still. Small
children whimpered.
Somewhere a robin twittered
happy with another spring.

2. It depends

If nothing occurs today—
your death, my death—
this way we shall endure
living from breath to breath.

Burning an occasional candle
throwing caution at least
once in a while. Light.
Hungry still for the feast.

Gathering paeans to proclaim
joyfully up the deep breath—
if nothing occurs today—
your death, my death.

3. Ubi Terrarum?

My dream my geometry
Stars are mounting tonight
Taking their places at the window
Over the unnamed sea

Under me men are asleep
Bodies spreading through the earth
Memories real once more
Children levelled to belief

Where in the world is this window?
What fortress are these eyes?
Guarding the shore of existence
Mounting watch in the low

Hours? Vision or mere
Openness into silence
Filling to the brim where
Being will disappear?

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One year later

CHURCH MUSIC REVISITED

RALPH THIBODEAU

About a year after "Fiasco in Church Music," (*Commonweal,* April 8, 1966) I can report that Catholic Church music in America is still in a state of chaos unprecedented since before the days of Gregory the Great. At the same time, there are some signs of possible improvement in the near future.

The chaos is a result of divergent readings of the *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy,* the first great document produced by Vatican II. With its mandate for congregational participation in singing a vernacular liturgy, and its equal insistence on preserving the musical treasures of the Church, it divided professional musicians and liturgists into the often opposing factions, and supplied chapter and verse to bolster the arguments of both.

The disparity in thinking between musicians and liturgists was very pointedly illustrated by two meetings held last August in two widely separated cities of the U. S. One was the first general assembly of the *Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae* (International Church Music Association) in Chicago, with the subsequent fifth International Church Music Congress in Milwaukee; the other was the international Liturgical Week in Houston. Both were held during the same week, beginning August 21, making it physically impossible for anyone to attend both, even though they both obviously dealt with public worship.

I was an invited delegate to the Chicago assembly, one of a group known ever since in liturgical circles as the "bad guys." The reason will be apparent.

After the *Constitution* on liturgy, and particularly after the way its directives were put in practice in America, the professional Church musicians felt slighted. They saw their art music and their choirs disappear from many churches, in favor of simple congregational hymns performed very badly by people who had no precedent for singing, no training, and no overwhelming desire to sing, in church or elsewhere.

The musicians went to Chicago—most of them—in an effort to do something to preserve art music and trained choirs for the service of the liturgy, and to reemphasize their own status as professionals competent and willing to guide the Bark of Peter through the heaving waters of the musical renewal. Unfortunately there was no one to listen to them, except other musicians: the liturgical experts were all in Houston. So musicians listened to other musicians, including many internationally famous scholars, tell them what they wanted to hear: that choirs and art music must be retained, that they, as professionals, should be the leaders in the musical *aggiornamento.*

RALPH THIBODEAU *is an Assistant Professor of Music at Del Mar College in Texas.*

The Message

The speakers held out, in general, for retaining the Latin High Mass, or at least for allowing Latin to coexist with English and the other vernaculars. With coexistence there could be little quarrel. Musicians know that it is impossible suddenly to create a whole new corpus of vernacular art music to replace the Latin polyphonic music of the last 700 years, or the ancient chant. In fact, only expertly trained Church musicians and Church-music scholars are qualified to assess the importance of the Latin musical heritage of the Church and of the continued use of art music, or to appreciate fully the tragedy of the loss of either to future generations of what we can hope will be churchgoers.

But the speakers went further. They presented paper after paper calculated to water down the concept of active congregational participation in singing the Mass, to argue that listening to sacred music in church is a form of participation, with the implication that it is enough participation. Worse, there was a tendency on the part of the *praesidium,* as they called themselves, to offer the impression that they spoke *ex cathedra,* in the name of the Holy See. These assembly leaders represented the most reactionary opinions, comparable only to the sanctified opinions of generations of European and American Cecilian reformers, who had ruined Church music for 100 years by substituting their own "official" liturgical music for the works of the masters, and by publishing their "official" white lists and black lists.

Most American musicians were embarrassed. Even though they might have gone to Chicago with a chip on their shoulder, they had confidently expected to witness, and to help shape, a constructive approach to the common problem of musicians and liturgists posed by the *Constitution.*

In the face of the rationality of keeping art music in the Mass, it is regrettable that the Chicago assembly made for itself an image of extreme and narrow reac-

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tionism. From the view of hindsight, it is unfortunate, too, that the Latin musical heritage, the *patrimonium musicae sacrae,* was constantly proferred as the preferred music of the Church, when in fact what really needs defending is the right to keep art music, either Latin or vernacular, in the period of the present danger and for all time. The confusion of Latin music alone with art music in general is understandable, since relatively little art music of any consequence now exists in the vernacular. But it is still confusion, understandable or not. As a matter of record, the actual Masses performed at the accompanying Music Congress in Milwaukee included one setting of the entire High Mass in English, which underlined the fact that English Masses need only two things to become as important artistically as the Latin works: better words and better music. This is a problem of relativity, not of relevance.

It is one of the ironies of the current liturgical turmoil that in Chicago, during the three days of the meeting of musicians and music scholars, all community Masses were public-participation Masses in the vernacular. (The German delegation became so incensed with this state of affairs that one morning after the community Mass they celebrated, and sang, a solemn High Mass in Latin Gregorian chant.)

By contrast, at the Liturgical Week in Houston, the principal Mass on the second evening featured art music sung by a trained choir with instrumental accompaniment. Except for this performance, and except for two short study-group lectures, art music was apparently unmentionable in Houston. Almost no reference was made to music of any kind in the principal papers at a Liturgical Week the theme of which was "Worship in the City of Man." This omission hardly took issue with the pronunciamentos emanating from Chicago; it simply ignored them.

The simultaneous meetings of the musicians in Chicago and the liturgists in Houston must go down as a major *faux pas* for the Church in an age of renewal. Luckily, a meeting of minds of musicians and liturgists was already scheduled.

"Harmony and Discord," an open forum on Church music, had been planned earlier in the summer, to be sponsored jointly by the Liturgical Conference and the Church Music Association of America. Articles for a forum handbook were furnished by authorities in both music and liturgy, and the book was distributed well ahead of the meeting in Kansas City, from Nov. 29 to Dec. 1. Each diocese in the U.S. was invited to send three delegates representative of their best liturgical and musical thinking. Some of the musicians of the Chicago meeting were there, and some of the liturgists from the Houston meeting. Otherwise the delegations, approximately 450 members, were mostly parish priests representing every state and a good cross section of the dioceses. Professional Catholic Church musicians, including active choir directors and organists, were in a decided minority. And the music scholars who had lent distinction to the Chicago meeting were notably few.

Viewpoints

The atmosphere was friendly, and produced a good exchange of ideas. With a few exceptions, it was evident that most of the delegates, whatever their specialties or lack of specialty, came with open minds to discuss problems and to hear out conflicting arguments. Positions were stated charitably by both musicians and liturgists of the left, middle and right, dispelling the notion that Church musicians represent only an extreme conservatism, while liturgists are the forces of progress.

For example, Abbot Rembert Weakland, O.S.B., an outstanding musicologist among the American clergy, dismissed most of the Latin Church music of previous centuries with the observation that "we cannot preserve the treasures of the past without coming to terms with the false liturgical orientations which gave rise to this music. . . . They can only be preserved for what they are, beautiful pieces of music that served past generations of the Church." This declaration of irrelevance antagonized some of the professional musicians, because it seemed to overlook the artistic universality of sacred music masterpieces of the past, a quality which musicians contend is still able to strike a legitimate and salutary emotional response among churchgoers even in the 20th century.

The Abbot also caused a few musicians to demur when he declared for the most avant-garde serial music and the rumblings of the electronic synthesizers as potentially valuable adjuncts to worship. Their reaction is quite understandable, in view of the position that most contemporary music, like art and poetry, represents a complete alienation of the artist from the "consuming public," and thus seems to have no validity for reaching to the mind or the heart of a person in the pew.

On the other end of the spectrum, Dennis Fitzpatrick, a young composer and publisher, shocked a large segment of the gathering by playing a taped portion of a rock-and-roll Mass and advocating such music as a fitting vehicle for worship. Many balked at this because of the dirty-sex and commercial connotations of rock-and-roll at present. Even people who might have no objection to jazz Masses (jazz has become classical after a 50-year purification from its New Orleans bordello past), or to Negro folk Masses and other expressions of an authentic folk idiom, draw the line at rock-and-roll. The argument of its proponents in Kansas City, including quite a few pastors, seemed to be that it would get the young people into the church. The question inevitably arose, "What happens after you get them into the building?"

A tremendous elevation in musical sophistication will have to be achieved before serial music, or even 20th-century tonal music, can make any dent on the normal

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churchgoer, Catholic or otherwise; conversely, an apocalyptic degeneration in musical taste must be posited as a prerequisite for acceptance of the typical high-decibel, low musicality rock-and-roll.

The important thing is that the dialogue was genuine. Liturgists seemed to agree in principle on the validity of trained choirs and art music to complement popular singing, with adequate performance ability determining the exact proportions and the degree of difficulty of the music performed. In return, musicians accepted the exhortations of the liturgists to form a pastoral mentality on liturgical-musical problems, and to extend their efforts to promote congregational participation in the sung Mass. Musicians even exhorted one another. In hammering out a final policy statement on the community act of worship, the musicians agreed that "all texts, actions and music are proper and effective to the degree that they serve the active participation of God's people."

A subtly disturbing impression for me, as a Church musician, was that the musicians who spoke publicly were inclined to be a little mealy-mouthed at times. They failed to advance vigorously enough the argument for art music sung by trained choirs as a most valuable adjunct to the worship of God and the sanctification of souls, through its appeal to the finer emotions of men. And they apparently did not notice that the above statement to which they gave their *imprimatur* makes active participation of the people an end in itself, rather than a means to a higher end; if interpreted strictly, it would actually eliminate them and their music. Possibly their regrets over Chicago were showing in their determination to lean over backwards to be reasonable.

But it was comforting that all points of view were represented and given a hearing. Comforting, too, was the presence of Archbishop Paul Hallinan of Atlanta, chairman of the American Bishops' Liturgical Commission, as observer at the sessions and celebrant of the Masses. His active participation, as the chief liturgical spokesman for the bishops, gave the delegates a sense of official sanction for their efforts and an earnest that such efforts might make some improvement likely in the liturgy and its music.

It would be wildly optimistic, however, to offer the impression that Kansas City actually solved anything. The trouble with meetings is that a great deal of notional assent may be given to ideas by fervently *engagé* delegates. Whether they can carry this over into real personal assent, and can then fire the pastors of the nation with their convictions, is a much greater problem.

For many years there has been an ill-defined fault in the substrata beneath the surface relations of pastors and Church musicians, with the pastor usually being able to dictate policy because of his favored authoritarian position, and the musician able only to conform or be fired—while the gentlemen of the Liturgical Conference were merely observers, ignored by both pastors and musicians.

The liturgy *Constitution* has widened the fault to a chasm. But it has also done everyone concerned a great service by forcing them all, pastors, liturgists and musicians, to redefine and reevaluate their positions in a perspective wider than the merely parochial. If nothing else, this process of reevaluation has finally put individual pastors in the position of having at least to seem to value the advice of both liturgists and musicians in the search for new, valid concepts of liturgical musical practice. In time, this impact on the pastors should improve the liturgy. At present, the persistent truth is that most American pastors know little and care less about art music, and many have seized on a few paragraphs of a Council document as their justification for declaring it irrelevant, and discarding it altogether.

They are aided in their attitude from a quite unexpected quarter of the Catholic community, the young priests in a hurry who for want of a better term might be called simply *nouveaux liturgistes*. Wherever two or three of these are gathered together, there is an unspoken assumption that art music is irrelevant to worship. Art music is not argued about; it is simply dismissed as a diseased appendage of an earlier, non-liturgical culture, like the cathedrals of Europe—museums, as they are called. This creeping philistinism, a sort of *ersatz* 20th-century iconoclasm, affects those who are already cursed with the malaise of a little learning about music, which they have parlayed into a philosophical negation of beauty as a relevant factor in contemporary Christian life.

There have been philistines before, and there will be others. But it is too bad that these are articulate enough to command so much attention. The danger is that they may be able to make music irrelevant by making liturgy irrelevant.

If the musical illiterates are capable of doing infinite harm, the obverse of the coin exhibits the drawbacks of the illiterate musicians. The liturgical renewalist can claim, justly, that many so-called professional musicians at work in the Church today are not really professional at all, by any decent musical standards. But more important, they can claim with some justice that even technically competent musicians are often culturally deprived cretins on whom even the most elementary lessons of history, to say nothing of philosophy and psychology, are lost.

It will take all the good will in the world for all concerned to accept one another's, and their own, limitations, and to start acting like intelligent adult Christians. In spite of Kansas City, there remain serious obstacles to musical progress in the Church. But because of Kansas City, there is hope of further dialogue and eventual solution of the common problem.

The thesis that would be most interesting to advance at the moment is that the really competent, intelligent, sensible Church musician and his liturgical counterpart have no serious quarrel.

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IS YOUTH NECESSARY?

THE SCREEN

The youth cycle in cinema, given quite an impetus by Richard Lester's well-made, exhilarant movies and more recently by sober Antonioni's "Blow Up," is now in full swing and has several new items on our screens. Best of the lot is "The Jokers," an English film which not only bubbles with youthful gaiety but also has a lot of the biting satire that pervaded those delightful old British comedies like "Tight Little Island" and "Passage to Pimlico." Telling a tale of two brothers who want to show how clever they are and startle London, the empire, and perhaps the world by pulling off a grand gesture, "The Jokers" has an implausible plot, but one so amusing in the execution that the audience is likely to play the game and suspend belief for a while just for the fun of the whole thing.

David Tremayne (nicely played by Oliver Reed who was the sullen, brooding lad in "The Girl Getters") is resentful against a society that doesn't recognize his qualifications as an architect; at 30 he is still drifting along as a fashionable interior decorator. His brother Michael (turned on by Michael Crawford with the same Puckish charm and innocent-naughty face he displayed in "The Knack") is 22 and his distinctions consist mainly in having been kicked out of both Cambridge and Sandhurst; what he resents is that their parents consider David such a responsible model of perfection and Michael such a good-for-nothing, although it is usually David who is the master-mind behind Michael's pranks. Well, one day while the brothers are showing a German girl around London (in a series of hilarious scenes kidding London, Londoners, and tourists) they come to the Tower of London, and in the Jewel Room, they get the inspiration for their grand gesture: they'll steal the crown jewels.

The boys plan their trick with great care and start with a series of bomb scares—at the Albert Memorial, the lion's cage at the zoo, a public washroom, and finally the London Stock Exchange. Before each bomb, Michael gets on the phone and, pretending to be Red George, warns Scotland Yard. So when the time comes for the big caper at the Tower, the military and the police are by no means ready for anything as impertinent and unpatriotic as the theft of two crowns, the orb and the sceptre.

The boys' scheme is amusing as well as exciting, and director Michael Winner is at his best showing the plan in action and the reaction of the English, from the big shots down to the man in the street. So far, I've told only half of the story, a story that has a series of surprises in the script by Dick Clement and Ian La Frenais it would be utterly unfair to reveal. During the course of "The Jokers," director Winner and his good cast are also com-

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menting on the mad mod young people in London and on some of their elders (expertly played by Harry Andrews, James Donald, Michael Hordern, and others) who may or may not deserve the razzing that the film so outrageously gives them. Perhaps the movie would be even funnier if it were a little shorter, especially in the scenes before the theft; but on the whole "The Jokers" is such a good joke I wouldn't want anything cut from its zany tag lines.

No doubt "The Happening," an American film set in the Miami Beach area of Florida, means to be an equally funny satire on youth and their muddling elders. But the movie, although directed by Elliot Silverstein whose "Cat Ballou" was such a riot, gets so serious after its amusing start that one wonders if the word comedy should be used in connection with it at all. Four young Beach "Beats" scamper into an ex-gangster's house, and when the man's wife thinks these no-goods are about to kidnap her little son, the ex-gangster offers himself as a hostage. No one is more surprised than the "Beats" who had no idea at all of pulling a snatch; but they accept the offer made by the man who is played by Anthony Quinn with almost deadly seriousness. The four make off with Anthony in his wife's car—and really have no idea what should be the next step.

The four young people, played by Michael Parks, George Maharis, Robert Walker, and Faye Dunaway, seem to have little sense of fun, and the script and action that follows do little to make them amusing or even understandable. The irony of the later scenes grows in bitterness when no one is willing to pay the ransom for Quinn. His mother, his wife (Martha Hyer), his partner (Milton Berle), even the head of the Mafia (Oscar Homolka) turn down the begging Quinn. So Quinn gets even in his way by teaching his youthful and brainless kidnappers how to pull a real job. While some of this is poignant and much of it is legitimate criticism of society today, as entertainment it is a mish-mash. This kind of black comedy doesn't necessarily have to come up with all the answers in a dramatic work, but it must at least state the problem well. "The Happening" isn't even sure what's happening.

I suppose "Doctor, You've Got To Be Kidding" also means to be saying something about and for youth today, but the whole piece is such feather-brained stuff during which Sandra Dee is pursued by four young men that hardly any message comes through. The young fellows, played by George Hamilton, Bill Bixby, Richard Kallman, and Dwayne Hickman, are amusing up to a point—and so are Mort Sahl and Celeste Holm. But Sandra's mistake is in selecting Hamilton, the stuffiest of the bunch.

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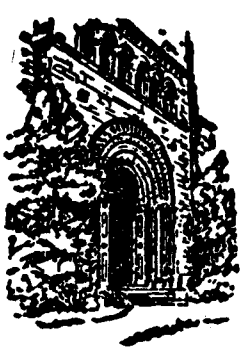

Prospective students should make early application

AFTER DINNER SHERRY

THE STAGE

If musical versions of Shaw, Molnar, Shakespeare, Cervantes and Sholem Aleichem can make millions (I hear the instigators of "Sherry!" saying) why couldn't a musical version of the genuinely American "The Man Who Came to Dinner" by Kaufman and Hart do as well? Perhaps one could. But "Sherry!" won't.

When "The Man Who Came to Dinner" was a Broadway success, the personages it spoofed were in fact a part of the lives of the audience it played to. Alexander Woolcott (who became Sheridan Whiteside in the play) was a whimsical but knowledgeable naughty-boy-about-town whose tantalizing tid-bits helped his radio audience and readers feel that they were living—albeit vicariously—a larger life. Noel Coward and Gertrude Lawrence (Beverly Carlton and Lorrain Sheldon in the play) were scintillating from the stage of a nearby theater. Harpo Marx (Banjo in the play) was learning, in person, at the audience's own world.

It was a time when a few charismatic radio and movie personalities commanded a compulsive audience across the land. Amos 'n Andy, Eddie Cantor and Major Bowes were others of that decade's gifts to the American voyeur —immensely popular surrogates that Kaufman and Hart could as well have lampooned (but didn't) in their play.

Throughout the long run of "The Man Who Came To Dinner" its atmosphere was akin to that at a Gridiron dinner in Washington when the newsmen spoof the President in his presence. But when the play opened, Alexander Woolcott was playing the Woolcott character in person. That first night must have been nearly as exciting as the 1939 Gridiron dinner would have been had it featured FDR himself playing the President his contemporaries were kidding.

"Sherry!" (the exclamation mark is the producer's—not an indication of my critical acclaim) is playing today

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to an audience that barely recollects Woollcott, Coward, Miss Lawrence and Harpo. And vaguely recalling is something other than vividly knowing. Not only are the images "Sherry!" kids no longer a part of our experience —no similar images have taken their places. Our culture has become diffuse. It is no longer concentrated in New York, Hollywood and London, or centered in a handful of the kinds of personalities Kaufman and Hart were lampooning in 1939. Our Elizabeth and her Richard may be bigger "names" than were Woolcott, Coward, Harpo, et al., but they are the embodiment of selfless diffidence when compared to Woolcott and his pals. For Woolcott was a wise-cracking, self-elected and brashly intrusive critic of the foibles and fallacies of his time, as were, in their individual ways, Coward and Harpo.

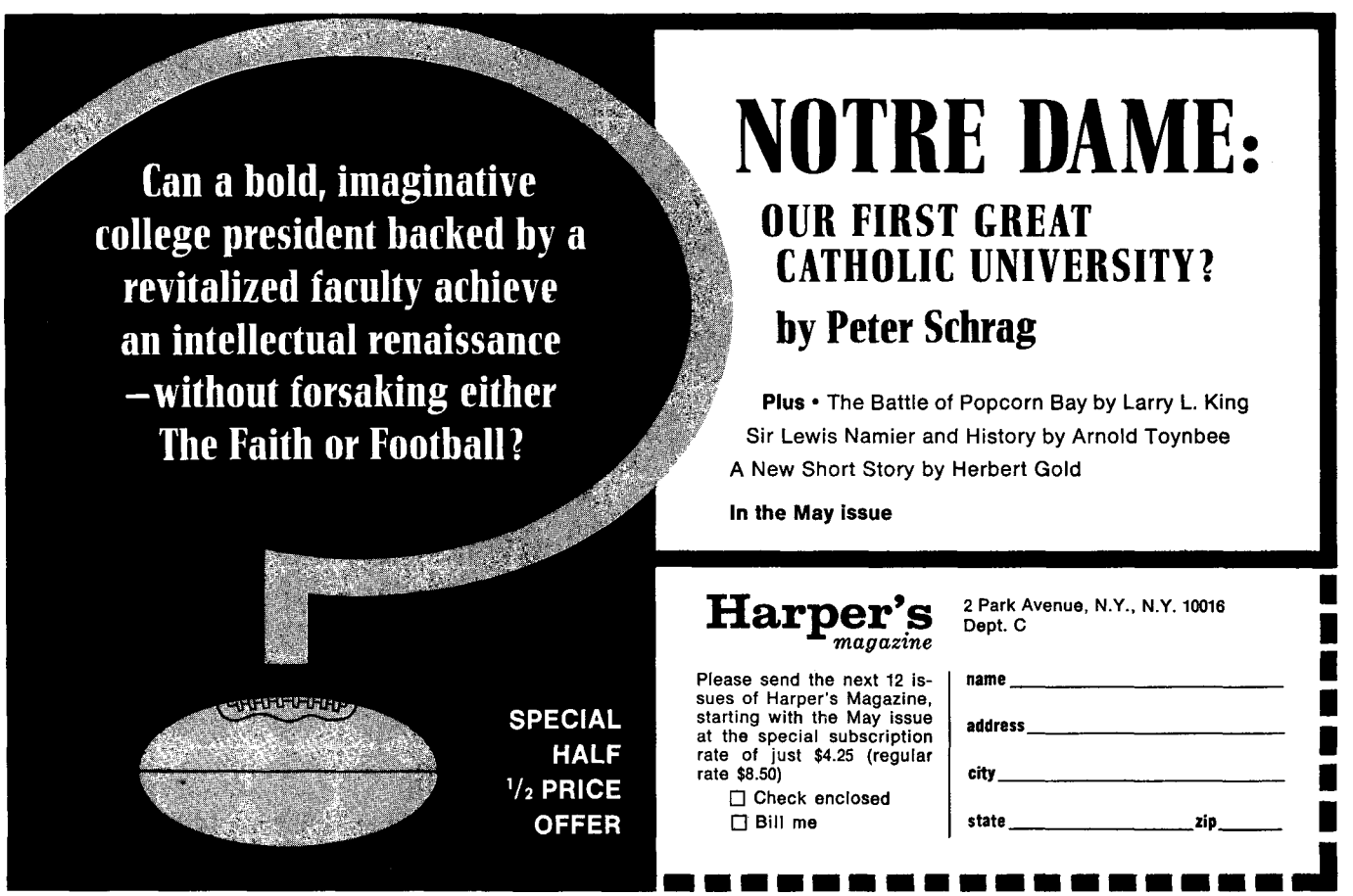
Thus the point of the original play has been blunted irreparably by the passage of time, and its jokes forever depersonalized. I saw an out-of-town revival of "The Man Who Came To Dinner" just a few months before attending "Sherry!" and at no time at either performance was I lofted out of my awareness that I was watching a period piece. However expert a quip may be, it has lost some of its laugh potential if one knows that its butt is long gone from the scene, and that he could not possibly be listening in. If one of the Gridiron scripts kidding Calvin Coolidge were revived for presentation to a modern audience, the absence of Coolidge and the reporters who knew him would render most of the wit unfunny.

(These matters of period and image do not inhibit a modern audience's enjoyment of the APA's current revival of another Kaufman and Hart play, "You Can't Take It With You," because its protagonist is an individualist in the American pioneer grain who resolutely fights the Establishment in general and the Internal Revenue Department in particular. There is nothing dated about *this* image.)

The strategic mistake of "Sherry!" in trying to make its audience react to forgotten images is compounded by an even more debilitating tactical error. If one is going to add music to a play, one had better see to it that the music actually adds to the play—that it doesn't in fact subtract.

A single example: when Lerner and Loewe pygmalioned Shaw's play into "My Fair Lady," their music and lyric contributed just that ingredient that Shaw had left out of his original. Well-meaning but hopelessly rational GBS shied from the human touch. And it was a humanizing touch and feel that Lerner and Loewe wisely added to Shaw's witches' brew, to the immense enrichment of both the play and the perpetrators.

But for all of Kaufman and Hart's wit, these twain were no cold Britishers, and, as a team, no dilettantes at sentimentalizing. (In a Sunday article written in the 'Thirties, Brooks Atkinson contended that Moss Hart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brought that same humane quality to George Kaufman that Lerner and Loewe were later to add to Shaw.) Kaufman and Hart were masterly in arranging the alternating currents of wit and feeling in their plays. Music added to their already finely-tuned balance of emotion and comic relief had better harmonize with their dramatic orchestration and not clash with it. But clash with it the constructors of "Sherry!" did. Lawrence Rosenthal's music and James Lipton's book and lyrics may have been intended to add "show-stopping" peaks of theatricality, but in truth they only stop the emotional flow of the original show. They are almost as disruptive, at times, as the oleos between the acts of the old-time melodrama. And much the same must be said of Joe Layton's dance routines. Moreover, neither the dances nor the tunes are memorable in their own right.

But this production's problems are not limited to its outdated images and its intrusion of disharmonious music and lyrics into an already harmonious play. There are also unforgivable dramaturgic miscalculations. For example, in an apparent attempt to augment the current appeal of the time-dimmed Woolcott character, the perpetrators of "Sherry!" have, in their rewrite, emasculated him. He has become a "lovable" but charading cutesy-pie who is not dissimilar to the crotchety but "sweet" grandfathers who populate our currently popular TV series. This new Sheridan Whiteside decides seriously to propose marriage to the secretary whose romance he has just broken up, and, after some insufferably ingratiating song and dance, does so. It is an asinine plot twist and stamps the Woolcott character a palpable fool. The Woolcott Kaufman and Hart chided mercilessly may have been required to wear such labels as "selfish" and "irrascible," but he was too respected by his caricaturists ever to have been rendered ludicrous.

The foregoing typifies but does not suggest the quantity of the rewriting bloopers. In "The Man Who Came To Dinner" the encounters are scabrous and the insults are like whipsnaps. In "Sherry!" the confrontations are more often daintily quarrelsome. The original was replete with exquisitely written scenes that sparkle with highlighted life. The only sparkle left in "Sherry!" is in its exclamation mark.

Could the show have been saved by stronger, more personable players? I doubt it. Clive Revill's Sheridan Whiteside is cute rather than cutting, and tricky rather than tantalizing, but this is a manner of playing that is enforced by the rewritten script. The original may impersonate, but it also characterizes. Its portraits from life, which are memorable for their full-bodied representation of the spirit and attitudes of their subjects, have been flattened and cheapened in "Sherry!" into forgettable cardboard cut-outs. Revill bodies his cardboard role into bas relief, and this, considering what he had to work with, is a considerable achievement. Dolores Gray adds a welcome breath of life whenever the script allows her to be on stage. I do not think that Elizabeth Allen could have done much else with the now-simplistic ingenue, and I believe that Jon Cypher was similarly restricted by the bland reworking of the Jefferson role.

The original "Dinner" had the taste of good vintage wine, but the new cooks, becoming the proverbial too many, have decorked this "Sherry!" and allowed it to go flat. (*At the Alvin.*)

For five of the years that comedian Bert Wheeler starred in such vehicles as "Earl Carroll's Vanities" and "Priorities of '43" his partner was a youngster named Hank Ladd. This same Hank Ladd has just staged a show called "Skits-Oh-Frantics!" (again, and even more emphatically, the exclamation mark is not mine). This show has opened (and closed) at a new theater in the Dixie Hotel called, of course, the Bert Wheeler.

Any nostalgia induced by Wheeler and Ladd's symbolic reunion is slight when it is compared to that aroused by "Skits-Oh-Frantics!" 's script. If Ladd had meticulously recorded all of the gags and routines that his partner rejected as too ancient and decrepit for their act in the 1940's, and had dusted off that compilation and used it as a guide when writing his current script, he could not have arrived at anything creakier. For the "new" show is an altogether artless compendium of very-old-time vaudeville and burlesque turns, *sans* any of the relief from tedium which the bump, the grind, and the strip might have provided in the Minskys' heyday.

The almost incredible crudity of "Skits-Oh-Frantics!" took me back to another era—to a time when I worked in a rural roadhouse in the Midwest which featured (if one could call it that) some of the least prepossessing and least expensive touring acts its management could find stranded somewhere nearby. One night the lead comedian of that week's show, as tired of all the bad material and desolate rooming houses and hooched-up and tasteless audiences as a variety player on the road in the bootleg days could get, turned upon his jeering auditors and snapped, "I'll bet you think *I'm* a damned fool!" "Yeah-h-h!" his audience crescendoed with triumphant glee. "Well," spit back my hero, "remember that you *paid* to get in!"

Well, "Skits-Oh-Frantics!" is the same kind of a show. So I was astonished when it, too, turned out to have its hero. When "Skits-Oh-Frantics!" was almost over, its top banana, Irving Harmon, abruptly broke character, turned to his audience, and gave voice to a matter of conscience. "I'm not ashamed of that last line," he explained, "because I've got more important things to be ashamed of."

Mr. Harmon's humane frankness so disarmed me that I am not able to be as brutal to "Skits-Oh-Frantics!" as its ineptitude deserves. Because while I've seen few worse shows, I've seen even fewer that make a statement that is as true to the human condition as his.

R.J. SCHROEDER

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BOOKS

The Beat Generation at 40

Nothing More to Declare

JOHN CLELLON HOLMES

Dutton, $4.95

DANIEL AARON

Not every generation finds its right chronicler, someone who is of it, yet sufficiently removed (like one of those first person narrators in a Henry James story) to record its history with a degree of detachment. John Clellon Holmes meets the requirements. What Floyd Dell did for the Village bohemians and Malcolm Crowley for the expatriates of the Twenties, he has done for the so-called Beat Generation. If his memorial seems premature to readers over forty, let them be reminded that decades today are reckoned as eons: to almost half the population of the United States, the Truman and Eisenhower years belong to antiquity.

Now in his fortieth year and poised on "a frontier between the countries of experience," Holmes opens up his luggage of memories for inspection, concealing nothing, he says, from the Customs Official. His "Declaration" is an apologia for himself and his generation, at once a definition, explanation, and description presented with great charm and insight. Brilliant bravura passages, vivid portraits, artful accounts of dramatic encounters disclose the novelist behind the autobiographical historian; but his book, although occasionally "literary," never fakes or prevaricates. It is an absolutely honest testament in addition to being a kind of mosaic of a generation.

Nothing More To Declare opens with impressionistic sketches of four men whose composite views, visions, frustrations, and achievements define the mental boundaries of Holmes's expanding consciousness. Gershon Legman, "St. Jerome of the Bronx," carries on a lonely war against sadism and violence—the substitutes for sex in our culture—and converts Holmes to his "bravely avowed belief in the passional side of the human being." Jay Landesman, impressario of "happenings" and precursor of Pop, exposes the pomposities of high culture in the Fifties and illuminates the social blackness with black humor. Holmes learns from him "that sexuality is somehow the last sanctuary of the Real" and that one must adjust "not to the society but to the springs of life itself." Allen Ginsberg provides another

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"route to revelation." He is the rejected man who seeks the rejected, a creature of "ecstasies and premonitions" whose "Howl" is "the biography of a part of our era . . . the first statement of a point of view that was uniquely ours." And most important of all is Jack Kerouac, "a combination of Jack Armstrong and Thomas Wolfe," the "tramp transcendentalist" who helps the author to discover himself and his vocation. Kerouac reproduces "the dislocations and attritions of his generation's experience 'in great America'."

In an exhilarating essay on moviegoing during the late Thirties and Forties, Holmes tells how films created a common fantasy for this age-group. Besides providing an escape from Depression dullness, they helped to dictate the responses to feminine beauty, literature, and even politics. Films took precedence over books. Holmes discovered Hemingway through Gary Cooper; Paul Muni sent him to Zola. In Bogart he and his friends beheld the incarnation of the "Existential Knight," and the bizarre comedy of the Marx Brothers, Laurel and Hardy, and W. C. Fields ("the secret Dutch Uncle of my generation") not only helped them to shape their surrealist vision of a corrupt and stuffy world but also to work out a desperate strategy for outwitting it.

An extended discussion of the Beat Generation that follows clears up a good deal of speculation and misinformation. The blurring of "Beat" and "Beatnik" has obscured the origins and significance of the "Beat Movement," and Holmes sets the record straight. His Beat Generation, he says, was a "literary group," not a social movement. It did not seek to clash with the Squares, only to avoid them, and its bent was quasi-religious—to go questing for revelations in the expanding consciousness of the Self. The Beats (his Beats) are largely responsible, he claims somewhat hyperbolically, for changing the social tone from one of prudence, irony, and impersonality "to the daring commitment and diversity of the creative artist." In so doing they made possible the dissent of the Sixties, although Holmes finds the New Left in many ways regressive, inclined to shock rather than to liberate, and blind to the discoveries of its Beat predecessors.

Throughout this far-ranging commentary, whether he is writing on President Kennedy as a touchstone of his generation, or brooding over the symbolism of Oswald's crime (the excluded man trying to make contact with society by assassinating his polar opposite), or reflecting upon the sexual revolution (the exploration of the last frontier), or recording his private struggles as a man and writer ("the personal equivalent of the U-2 incident, the Cuban Revolution, and America's prestige-losses and space failures"), Holmes is invariably pertinent and unfailingly alive.

Perhaps he overstates the cultural importance of his Beat heroes and the profundity of their psychic and social disclosures, but exaggeration is usually undercut by wit and candor. Having emerged from "a disordered and wasteful past," he has come to appreciate the fatal truth of the cliché and is prepared "to persevere without rage."

Elections in the Church

JOSEPH O'DONOGHUE

Helicon, $5.95

WALTER ARNOLD

Fr. O'Donoghue's thoughtful and useful book is concerned with the implementation of Vatican II, particularly in the American situation. It is indeed a very "American" book both in its generally optimistic spirit and in its activist suggestibility. More especially is it "American" in its commitment to democratic structures and processes in the Church. In fact, in its "democratic" spirit and emphasis, *Elections in the Church* is a reflection of the very important influence that the American religious and political experience had on the Council—one which has yet to be fully appreciated. It is also a reflection of the "democratic" nature of so much of the Council's program. Fr. O'Donoghue does not have to strain to find numerous quotations from Council documents to support his various points.

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The title of the book is somewhat misleading, since at least four fifths of it deals with other issues than episcopal elections. There are chapters on the problems of reform in the parishes, the schools, the sacraments; sections on national hierarchies, the international Church and the development of "leadership." In fact the author tries to cover too many subjects in too small a space, with the predictable result of repetitiousness and superficiality. He could have profitably dwelt longer on the issue of elections, since this has received less attention than most of the other areas. Also the parts of the book are not as well related to one another as they might be and the whole is a rather laminated product.

As for episcopal elections themselves, Fr. O'Donoghue's treatment poses a basic problem. He sees them as a way of taking seriously the commitment of the Council to collegiality, the priesthood of all the faithful and what goes with this, shared responsibility and shared decision making. As he well says, "To assign the task to a select few, or even, apathetically, to permit it to be performed by a few, is to court disaster by ignoring the multiple endowment of the Spirit's gifts within the Church." Accordingly he sees elections and the communication which they imply as a principal agency of reform within the Church.

Yet elections and all that accompanies them do not constitute a solution to the problem of "communication." They rather presuppose one. Democratic processes depend upon a well informed and inspirited people, one committed to participation. As Fr. O'Donoghue poses it, the crucial question is, "Do we really trust the people of God, their good sense, their faith and their power of judgment?" Or rather the question is: Do the people trust themselves sufficiently to want the changes that seem so necessary?

The author of *Elections in the Church* is clearly in the American progressive and populist traditions of the "men of good hope," going back at least to Theodore Parker, Emerson, Fr. Isaac Hecker and their friends. He is possessed of the same individualist enthusiam and social spirit of these great men and is also aware, as one must be, of their comparative failure to forge viable social structures to implement their reforming vision. (Hecker was far more successful in this than his old associates.) Consequently Fr. O'Donoghue is greatly concerned with the structural problems in the Church at the present time.

Naturally he finds the structures of the Church today badly fitted to incarnating her own best idea of herself, as expressed in the Council. Time and again Fr. O'Donoghue points out how little the Church in this country really knows of herself in this regard, that is institutionally. It is incredible, for instance, that we cannot find out what effect parochial schools really have in the lives of their graduates or whether the investment in the Catholic college system is a good one. The need for objective sociological research is obvious in every area that Fr. O'Donoghue touches.

But institutional research is not enough, as structural reforms are not the most basic problems facing Catholicism today. As Fr. O'Donoghue observes, "the future renewal of the Church depends on each individual Christian's theological awareness of his own charismatic endowment." That structural reforms can facilitate this awareness is apparent. But that the problem remains much more fundamentally personal and theological it is not the least merit of this book to show.

Tower of Babel

ERIC RHODE

Chilton Books, $5.95

HARRIS DIENSTFREY

Eric Rhode, an English film critic, has brought together eleven essays on film directors from over a half dozen countries, who together span a period from the early 1920s to the present. The collection is called *Tower of Babel* because one of the themes presumably threading through the work of these directors is a concern with the modern city as a symbol and portent of the contemporary human condition. But Mr.

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Rhode examines this theme in only three or four instances—most centrally with Fritz Lang (a sequence of whose film, *Metropolis,* provides the collection with its title)—and at times simply introduces it to discard it. Alain Resnais, he writes, "doesn't appear much interested in cities as places representing the human condition."

The confusion and discrepancy between, so to speak, the categories of Mr. Rhode's left hand and the actual comments of his right occurs throughout much of the book. The essay on Lang is a good—that is, bad—example. Mr. Rhode (who is concerned only with the films Lang made before leaving Germany) begins his analysis by arguing that the vigor of the films "stems primarily from a non-filmic source." This source he identifies as the view offered by Oswald Spengler in *The Decline of the West* that the contemporary city means the end of man because it encloses him in a completely artificial world, cuts him off from all contact with the ordering structure of nature, and so drives him to exhaustion and chaos.

Mr. Rhode believes that such an outlook is present in Lang's German films (whether consciously or not is unclear), but in discussing the last of the pictures, *M* and *The Testament of Dr. Mabuse,* he forgets Spengler and offers the point that they express a positive view of the city because they contain a police inspector who maintains law and order (an interpretation which at least so far as the police inspector in *M* is concerned seems to me entirely unsupportable). Then, in his conclusion, Mr. Rhode somehow doubles back on his starting point about the "non-filmic source" of Lang's work and maintains that it is "the power of his visual ideas" (which have not been detailed) that is significant.

The major difficulty with these essays is that they strive to examine a film in terms of its metaphysical or political or social conceptions—invariably blurring over, as with Lang, whether they were deliberately inserted by the directors themselves—without first examining the context in which they appear. For example, Mr. Rhode sees in Orson Welles' *Citizen Kane* and Alain Resnais' *Last Year at Marienbad* a comparable use of "time and memory" and argues that neither picture distinguishes between the objective and the subjective.

But *Citizen Kane* is a story about a man for whom there is no reality outside of himself and his needs and fantasies ("Poor Charlie," one of the characters laments), while in the world of *Marienbad,* reality as such simply does not exist and all the characters live in the endless uncertainty of their subjectivity. In so far as both films concern themselves with the merging of the objective and subjective, in *Citizen Kane* the issue is a matter of a single individual and in *Marienbad* a matter of the nature of experience. At least in the terms in which Mr. Rhode wants to make the point, the basic situations are not comparable.

Meanwhile, under this tendency toward abstraction and abstract speculation, Mr. Rhode now and then touches on the specific character of an individual's work. He concludes his examination of Robert Bresson (though he more properly should have begun it) with the comment that the director's films "recall those epic emotions engendered by resistance, loyalty, and meaningful sacrifice," which together Mr. Rhode characterizes, perhaps too grandly, as "all that is most obdurate in the conserving spirit of mankind." The book's best essay deals with Satyajit Ray (the selections on Eisenstein and Jacques Rivette also contain interesting notions), whose pictures, especially the Apu trilogy, Mr. Rhode sees as rooted in the intricacies of family life and in the individual, personal adjustments of men toward the circumstances of their experience.

In all these instances, Mr. Rhode has

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REVIEWERS

DANIEL AARON, the author of *Writers On The Left,* teaches in the English Department at Smith.

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allowed the work of a given director to speak for itself in its own terms, and not sought to subsume it under a general consideration about the city, reality, or the modern human condition.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 187)

Wall Street Journal's reaction. I'm surprised you don't. Bankers are no different than the rest of us when someone suggests "Why don't we spend your money?"

No matter how progressive "Development" sounds—the Wall Street bankers (and everybody else) would find it much more impressive if there was no necessity for Sister Catherine's appeal for her starving Indian orphans on page 128 of the same issue. . . . Shouldn't a Catholic nun, dedicating her life to the poor, merely have to ask for a Vatican painting or jewel to sell to keep her operation going? Is Christian charity a virtue only for the secular section of society?

Paul is right that our world cannot long continue to exist half rich and half poor and our charity serves ourselves best. I'm just amazed that it hasn't dawned on Paul that this applies to his Church. The image of accumulated treasure, privilege, ostentation, rigidity and unconcern for people's real problems sings a much louder song than "Development" can hope to. Bankers admit their purpose is profit and like other hardheads they only listen to people who are willing and able to put their money where their mouth is. Paul should try it. Example may be just what this world needs.

KATHRYN I. GOTTSCHALK

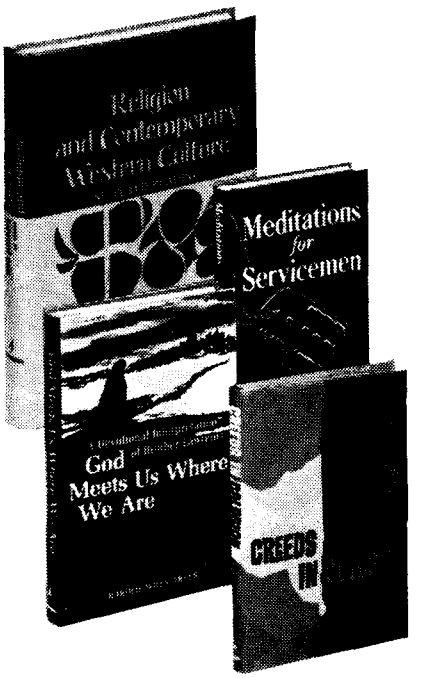
Amen

USS Collett

To the Editors: In regards to your notice of the imminent expiration of my subscription—FORGET IT! ! ! I've read all of your pro-Communist tripe I can stomach.

CDR. JOHN R. KEARNEY, U.S.N.

faith and religion in a changing world



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